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The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha



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THE ŚIVA-DHARMA

By R. C. Hazra

This is a short work still preserved in manuscripts.[1] It consists of twelve chapters only and deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of Śiva-worshippers. Like

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[1] As this work has not yet been published, our analysis of its contents is based mainly on the palm-leaf manuscript No. G3852 preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. For a description of this manuscript, which is written in Newari script 'of the twelfth century' A. D. and consists of six different works on Śaivism (viz., *Śiva-dharma*, *Śiva-dharmottara*, *Śiva-dharma-saṃgraha*, *Umā-maheśvara-saṃvāda*, *Śivopaniṣad*, and *Uttarottara-tantra*), see Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 4085, pp. 723-744.

For other manuscripts of this work see :

(i) Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, pp. 714-715, No. 4082 (Ms. No. G9967-incomplete, containing the sixth chapter only; written on Nepalese paper in Bengali characters; and dated Śaka 1563); and pp. 718-723, No. 4084 (Ms. No. G4077-written on palm-leaf in Newari script; and containing nine different works on Śaiva Dharma, of which the first six are the same as those in Ms. No G3852 mentioned above, the seventh is the *Vṛṣa-sāra-saṃgraha*, and the eighth and the ninth are both named *Lalita-vistara*).

In Ms. No. G4077 the eighth work, styled *Lalita-vistara*, has a post-colophon statement, according to which one 'Kula-putra-Ratna-siṃha' copied it in 'संवत् १५६' (i.e.,Newari year 156=1036A. D.) during the victorious reign (vijaya-rājye) of 'Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi-rāja-parameśvara-śrī-Lakṣmīkāmadeva'.

the *Viṣṇu-dharma* it calls itself a 'Śāstra' or 'Dharma-śāstra'[2] and never a 'Purāṇa', or 'Upapurāṇa', and it has been mentioned as such by the *Bhaviṣya*[3] and the *Saura-purāṇa*,[4] both of which clearly distinguish it from the Purāṇic works. Yet its name has been included in all the lists of eighteen Upapurānas except those contained in *Skanda-purāṇa* V. iii

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(ii) *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library*, Part I, p. 159, Ms. No. 46 (styled '*Śiva-dharm-opapurāṇa*' and written in Grantha script).

(iii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, pp. 128-129, No. 1376 (incomplete, containing the Śānty-adhyāya only; written in Newari script; dated Newari Era 522). See also p. 55.

(iv) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, pp. 272-274, No. 2208 (containing the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*; written in Bengali characters).

(v) A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 138 (written in Grantha characters).

[2] In most of the chapter-colophons the name '*Śiva-dharma-śāstra*' occurs. See also the line:

'*uktaṃ ca dvādaśādhyāyaṃ dharma-śāstraṃ śivātmakam*' occurring in Chap. 12 (fol. 39a).

[3] The relevant verse of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* is as follows:

aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā |
viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata. ||

(*Bhaviṣya-p.*, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., i. 4. 87b-88a).

This verse has been quoted in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 15, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) II. i. pp. 19-20, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 30, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 22, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed.) I, p. 71, and so on.

The printed edition of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* reads 'viṣṇu-dharmādayo dharmāḥ' for 'viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi'.

[4] The relevant verses of the '*Saura-purāṇa*', as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 539-540, are the following:

anyāny upa-purāṇāni sa-hiraṇyāni parvaṇi |
likhitvā yaḥ prayacchet tu sa vidyā-pārago bhavet ||
śiva-dharmādi-śāstrāṇi yaḥ prayacchati puṇyadhīḥ |
so 'nanta-phalam āpnoti śiva-dharma-prakīśaṇāt ||

These two verses do not occur in the printed editions of the *Saura-p.*

(Revā-khaṇḍa). 1. 46-52, *Devī-bhāgavata* i. 3. 13-16, *Vindhya-māhātmya*, Chapter 4, and *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, Chap. 1. On the other hand, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura of Mithilā takes it to be a 'Smṛti' work,[5] the *Revā-māhātmya* calls it a part of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* and thus looks upon it as a Purāṇic work,[6] the Vāyavīyasaṃhitā (ii. 24. 170) of the *Śiva-purāṇa* regards it both as a 'Śāstra' and as a 'Purāṇa',[7] and Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa mentions it as a 'Śāstra' on one occasion and as a 'Purāṇa' on another[8]. From these it is evident that this work began to be recognised as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D., but its original character was not lost sight of at least by a section of people.

That originally the *Śivā-dharma* was not meant for passing as a Purāṇic work, is also shown by its contents, which are given below.

Chap. 1—Salutation to Śambhu in a verse (which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*).

While Nandikeśvara was sitting at ease on the Mount Meru in the midst of a number of sages, Sanatkumāra, son of Brahmā, rose up from among them and requested Nandikeśvara to speak on that excellent Dharma (paramaṃ dharmam), called 'Śiva-dharma', which is eternal, easy to perform, and productive of all the ends of life, because, Sanat-

[5] See Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, p. 30.

[6] Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecâe Bodleianâe*, p. 65—

caturthaṃ śiva-dharmākhyaṃ purāṇe vāyu-saṃjñits

(which is one of the lines of the *Revā-māhātmya* on the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas).

[7] *Śiva-p.*, V (Vāyavīya-saṃhitā). ii. 24. 170-

śāstraṃ ca śiva-dharmākhyaṃ dharmākhyaṃ ca tad-uttaram |
śaivākhyaṃ śiva-dharmākhyaṃ purāṇaṃ śruti-saṃmatam ||

[8] See *Smṛti-candrikā* (Mysore ed.) II, pp. 539 (*śivārcana-phalaṃ tu śivadharma-śāstre darśitam*, etc.) and 553 (*phalam āha purāṇe nandikeśvaraḥ*).

kumāra said, the Agniṣṭoma and other Vedic sacrifices, being highly elaborate, expensive and tiresome but of doubtful efficacy, could not be undertaken by people of little resources.[9] Consequently, Nandikeśvara praised 'Śiva-dharma' (religious duty to Śiva), which, he said, was originally spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī, Ṣaṇmukha (the six-faced god Kārttikeya), Nandikeśvara and other gods for the deliverance of those who were steeped in nescience. Nandikeśvara then spoke on the following topics :

Praise of Śiva-worship, by which one may attain heaven (svarga) as well as final emancipation (apavarga). Mention and praise of eight types ('aṣṭāṅgī', 'aṣṭa-vidhā') of Bhakti manifested in loving the devotees of Śiva, encouraging Śiva-worship, personally worshipping the deity, listening to discourses on Śiva, constantly remembering him, and so on.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of honouring them with gifts, etc. Praise of devotion, worship, donation, Homa, knowledge, austerities, etc. meant for the pleasure of Śiva. Devotional service to Śiva always and by all means.

Chap. 2—Going to describe the means of attaining immortality Sanatkumāra speaks on the merits of establishing a Liṅga of Śiva, constructing a temple for it, cleansing the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung, lustrating the Liṅga, bathing it with water, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc., offering of 'argha' to it, making donations of gold, gems, cows, horses, elephants, servants, cultivable land, village, town, etc., and making all kinds of devotional service to Śiva.

Chap. 3—Sanatkumāra's narration of the following story of the origin of Liṅga :

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[9] *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 1 (fol. 1b) :
agniṣṭomādayo yajñā bahu-vitta-kriyānvitāḥ |
nātyanta-phala-bhūyiṣṭhā bahv-āyāsa-samanvitāḥ ||
na śakyante yataḥ kartum alpa-vittair dvijātibhiḥ |
sukhopāyam ato brūhi sarva-kām-ārtha-sādhakam ||
hitāya sarva-martyānām śiva-dharmam sanātanam ||

When everything was under the waters of the ocean, there was a quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu, both of whom claimed agency and lordship of the universe. In order to settle their dispute there appeared between them a great Liṅga of light (jyotir-liṅga), the ends of which neither Brahmā nor Viṣṇu could discover. As they eulogised this huge Liṅga, they found in it another small spiritual Liṅga, only a 'prādeśa' (i. e., the span between the thumb and the forefinger) in length, which was Śiva himself (śivātmaka).[10] Śiva (here called Mahādeva) was pleased to grant boons to Brahmā and Viṣṇu and disappeared after declaring himself to be the cause of the universe. Thence forward Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others worshipped the Liṅga, which comprises all gods, Brahmā remaining at its right side, Viṣṇu at its left, Gāyatrī in its heart, and the Vedas, together with the Aṅgas, on its head.

Results of disregarding a Liṅga. Construction of Liṅgas with different materials (viz., stone, gems, gold, silver, brass, sapphire, bell-metal, earth, crystal, copper, etc.) and the effects derived by gods, Nāgas, Asuras and others by worshipping them, viz., Brahmā became the creator by worshipping a Liṅga of stone, Indra's position was due to his worship of a Liṅga of gems, Dhanada became the god of wealth by worshipping a golden Liṅga, the Viśvedevas became so by worshipping a Liṅga of silver, Vāyu worshipped a Liṅga of brass to attain his position, Viṣṇu's status was due to his worship of a Liṅga of sapphire, Buddha attained his supreme knowledge and the state of peace by worshipping a Liṅga of gold[11], Ārhata became a venerable Yogin by worshipping a Liṅga of topazes[12], and so on.

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[10] *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 3 (fol. 3a):
liṅga-madhye paraṃ liṅgaṃ sthitaṃ prādeśa-saṃmitam |
samādhi-stotra-saṃpannau dṛṣṭavantau śivātmakam ||
naiva tat kāñcanaṃ raupyaṃ tāmraṃ sphaṭika-mauktikam |
la+mātraṃ sthitaṃ śāntaṃ kevalaṃ tac-chivātmakam ||

[11–12] *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 3b):
buddhen-ābhyarcitaṃ liṅgaṃ jambūnadamayaṃ śubham |
tena buddhatvam āpnoti sadā śāntam avasthitam ||

Effects and praise of worshipping the Tribhuvaneś-vara Liṅga; fateful results of doing otherwise. Results of establishing a Liṅga.

Chap. 4—Characteristics of Śiva-bhaktas (who should be energetic, pious, disregardful of all opposites such as happiness and sorrow, light and darkness, heat and cold, and so on).

Śiva as the best recipient of gifts. Praise of constructing a Śiva-temple and of sweeping, whitewashing and repairing it annually, of besmearing it with cow-dung, of colouring its pavement, of furnishing it with pictures painted on walls,[13] and so on.

Praise of Rudra as the highest god, the best knowledge and the best austerities.

Chap. 5—Results and praise of rendering various kinds of service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga; viz; bathing the Liṅga with milk, curd, ghee, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc.; offer of eight kinds of materials of worship (aṣṭāṅgārgha) to it in dishes of gold, silver or some other metal; fanning it with fans made of palm-leaf, peacock-feathers, etc.; worshipping the deity with various kinds of flowers; offer of various articles of food, burning lamps, looking glass, etc.; holding a burning lamp on the head or forehead; saluting by lying prostrate before the Liṅga; eulogy of the god.

Results and praise of lighting series of lamps (dīpa-mālikā) in the month of Kārttika, decorating the Liṅga as well as the temple with flags and banners, sounding drums and various other musical instruments, arranging song and dance, especially of females, before the Liṅga, spreading a

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ārhatas tu sadā-kālaṃ puṣpa-liṅg-ārcanāt param |
ten-ārhattvam avāpnoti yogaṃ cāpi sudurlabham ||

[13] *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fol. 6b) :
kārayec citra-śāstrajñair yatnāc citraṃ śivālaye.

white or coloured canopy[14] over it, constructing with bricks a house for Rudra having the form of the sacred fire, decorating the floor and yard with Svastika, Padma and various other paintings, digging tanks, wells, etc. near Śiva-temples, and so on. Praise of places of Śiva-worship as being equal to Kuru-kṣetra, Naimiṣa and Puṣkara.

Chap. 6—Propitiation (śānti) of Śiva, Umā, Vināyaka, Mahākāla and many other divine and non-divine beings by eulogising them for averting evils: In this connection the following deities and others have been described :—

Ambikā; Vināyaka (who is said to be a son of Rudra and to have a big belly, a huge body, a bright collyrium-dark complexion, a tusk, the head of an elephant, and a snake as his sacred thread)[15]; Mahākāla; Viṣṇu; Brahmāṇī (who has four faces)[16], Rudrāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā and others; the various mother-goddesses (Mātaraḥ, such as Ākāśa-mātaraḥ, Loka-mātaraḥ, Bhūta-mātaraḥ, etc.); the Gaṇas living in different directions; the king of gods (i. e., Indra) living in the city of Amarāvatī lying in the east;[17]

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[14] For description of the canopy see *ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fol. 11b) :
vitānaṃ sita-padmābhaṃ madhye padma-vibhūṣitam |
vicitram eka-varṇaṃ vā nava-vastr-opaśobhitam ||
kiṅkiṇī-ravak-opetaṃ candrakaiś copaśobhitam |
lambakaiḥ sūtra-dāmaiś ca ghaṇṭā-ruta- vibhūṣitam ||
etc. etc.

[15] *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 13 b) :
mahodaro mahākāyaḥ snigdhāñjana-caya-cchaviḥ |
eka-daṃṣṭr-otkaṭo devo gaja-vaktro mahābalaḥ ||
nāga-yajñ-opavītī ca nāg-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitaḥ |
sarvārtha-sampad-ādhāro gaṇ-ādhyakṣo vara-pradaḥ |
rudrasya tanayo devo nāyako 'tha vināyakaḥ ||

[16] *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 14a) :
padma-rāga-prabhā devī catur-vadana-paṃkajā |
akṣa-māl-ārpita-karā kamaṇḍalu-dharā śubhā ||
brahmāṇī saumya-vadanā śiva-pūjā-parāyaṇā ||

[17] *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15a) :
amarāvatī nāma purī pūrva-bhāge vyavasthitā.

Agni living in the city of Tejovatī situated in the south-east (āgneye dig-vibhāge); Ananta (i.e., Śeṣa Nāga) living in Vaivasvatī Purī in the south; Nirṛti, a Rakṣas, living in the city of Kṛṣṇā in the south-west; Varuṇa[18] living in the city of Śuddhavatī in the west; Pavana[19] (Wind) living in the city Gandhavatī in the north-west; Kuvera[20] residing in the city of Mahodayā in the north; Īśāna[21] living in the city of Yaśovatī in the north-east; Sarasvatī, who is said to have a body possessing stainless halo and looking as white as the ray of the autumnal moon ;[22] Śrī ; Jayā Devī ; Aparājitā ; the Planets; the Nakṣatras (mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī) ; the Rāśis (zodiacal signs); the sages Kaśyapa, Gālava, Gārgya, Viśvāmitra, Manu, Dakṣa, Vasiṣṭha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Pulaha, Kratu, Nārada, Bhṛgu, Ātreya, Bharadvāja, Aṅgiras, Vālmīki, Kauśika, Kaṇṭha, Śākalya, Punarvasu, Śālaṅkāyana, and others; wives of sages; the Daitya kings (such as Śaṅkukarṇa, Mahājambha, Hayagrīva, Prahlāda, Tāraka and others) who are said to worship Hāṭakeśvaradeva regularly; the Nāgas (such as Karkoṭaka, Kulika and, others); the Rivers (such as Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā, Gotamī, Kāverī, Varaṇā, Devikā, Chandrabhāgā, Godāvarī,

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18 For description of Varuṇa see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :
bhadra-mauktika-saṃkāśaḥ paripiṅgala-locanaḥ |
śukla-vastra-parīdhānaḥ pāśa-hasto mahābalaḥ ||

19 For description of Pavana see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :
tatra tāmreṇa dehena kṛṣṇa-piṅgala-locanaḥ |
paṭa-vyāpt-āntar-ālīno dhvaja-yaṣṭy-āyudh-odyataḥ ||

20 For description of Kuvera see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :
tatra devo gadā-hastaś citra-srag-vastra-bhūṣaṇaḥ |
hrasva-bāhur mahā-tejāḥ paripiṅgala-locanaḥ ||

21 For description of Īśāna see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :
tatra mauktika-saṃkāśaḥ śaśāṃka-kṛta-bhūṣaṇaḥ |
tri-netraḥ śānta-rūp-ātmā akṣa-mālā-dharo dharaḥ ||

[22] *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 16a) :
śarac-candr-āṃśu-gaureṇa dehen-āmala-tejasā |
sarasvatī śive bhaktā .. ..||

Sarayū, Gaṇḍakī, Kauśikī, Sarasvatī, Nairañjinā, Śoṇa, Mandākinī, etc.); the Yakṣas (such as Vaiśravaṇa, Maṇibhadra, Suviroma, Pāñcika, Vibhāṇḍaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa and others); the Mountains (viz., Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa, Malaya, Gandhamādana, Śrīparvata, Mahendra and Himakūṭa); the eight Dvīpas including Gomathyo (?); the Oceans; and the Rākṣasas, Ḍākinīs, Bhūtas, Piśācas, evil demons (supposed to seize upon children), etc.

Praise of this chapter on propitiation (śānti).

Chap. 7—Praise of worshipping Śiva in a Liṅga on particular days (viz., full-moon day, new-moon day, the eighth day of the bright half of a month, the thirteenth and fourteenth days of the dark half of a month, and other Parvan days) and in different parts of the day. Such worship is said to be more effective than the Agnihotra, Aśvamedha and other sacrifices.

Rudra, Brahmā and Viṣṇu—the three Mātrās of Śiva.[23].

Benefits of muttering the sectarian Mantra 'oṃ namaḥ śivāya' said to be the six-syllabled 'Śiva-sūtra', of which the Bhāṣya was later spoken out by the omniscient and self-born Śiva himself.[24]

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[23] *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fol. 21a-b):
rudro brahmā hariś caiva mātrās tisraḥ prakīrtitāḥ //
dakṣiṇe 'ṅge 'bhavad brahmā harir vāmāṅga-saṃbhavaḥ /
hṛdayānnirgato rudro brahma-viṣṇu-śivātmakaḥ //
jagat-sṛṣṭi-karo brahmā viṣṇu[r] loka-vimohakaḥ //
anugraha-karo nitya-līlo rudra-śivātmakaḥ //
tribhir etair jagad vyāptaṃ kāraṇair ātma-karmabhiḥ /
tisro mātrāḥ śivasyaitāḥ sarva-loka-prapūjitāḥ //
etī eva trayo lokā etā eva trayo 'gnayaḥ /
trayo guṇās trivargaś ca yac cānyaj jagati sthitam //

[24] *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fol. 21b):
sarv-ārtha-sādhakaṃ mantraṃ śiva-sūtraṃ ṣaḍ-akṣaram /
bhāṣyam asy-aiva sūtrasya sarvajñena svayambhuvā/
paścāt parāparāṇiha vyakt-ārtha-gaditāni tu//

Praise of devotees of Śiva as being far superior to those who observe celibacy, or regularly study the Vedas, or perform the Agnihotra and other sacrifices, or have mastered all the branches of learning.

Eulogy of Śiva.

Chap. 8—Description and praise of various kinds of devotional service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga, in which all the sacred places and temples of deities are believed to lie hidden.—Bathing of the Liṅga with ghee for a day and night with song, dance, etc.; ceremonious Liṅga-worship during Parvan days; performance of the Car-festival of Śiva; giving to Śiva a vessel of ghee, a copper vessel full of gold (in the Soma-vrata during the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha), a sacred thread (during the full-moon day in the month of Āṣāḍha), a milch cow and a bull, a white bull, and a particular kind of cow called Kapilā (the milk of which a Śūdra is not permitted to drink without initiation to Śiva-worship).[25]

Praise of cows, which are said to be as sacred as Brahmins and to have emitted the Vedas together with the six ancillary sciences (gobhir vedāḥ samudgīrṇāḥ sa-ṣaḍ-aṅga-pada-kramāḥ), and in which all the deities and holy places are said to dwell permanently.

Performance of Go-śānti, in which Śiva is invoked to save the cows from mortality.

Gift of horses, elephants, male and female servants, villages, hamlets, towns, land, etc.

Evil consequences of dispossessing one of landed property given to him previously by the dispossessor himself or by any other person.

Consequences of taking illegal possession of property belonging to a deity or a Brahmin.

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[25] *Ibid.*, Chap. 8 (fol. 24b):
kapilāṃ yaḥ pibec chūdraḥ śiva-saṃskāra-varjitaḥ |
sa prayāti mahāghoraṃ narakaṃ nātra saṃśayaḥ ||

Chap. 9—Description and praise of the Śiva-liṅga-vrata (which is said to have been performed by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Devī, Skanda and other deities, sages, and leaders of Gaṇas, and which consists of bathing the Liṅga with water mixed with white sandal paste, placing it on a faultless lotus, worshipping it with white lotuses, Bilva leaves, etc., giving of fine cloth, various kinds of food and other things to it, and praying to it for forgiveness.

Chap. 10—Merits of observing fast and worshipping Śiva with the mention of his different names on the eighth and fourteenth days of both the fortnights during the different months of a year. Such fast is said to yield more merit than that earned by a person performing a long-continued sacrifice (Satra) or speaking the truth or visiting holy places or performing the Agnihotra or any other sacrifice.

Description and praise of Nakta-bhojana-vrata, Umā-maheśvara-vrata, Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī-vrata, Śūla-dāna-vrata, Gandha-vrata, Śaiva-mahāvrata, Kailāsa-vrata, and Śiva-ratha-vrata.

Construction of earthen, wooden, stone or brick temples for Śiva and furnishing them with all requisites. Ten cows and an ox, bed, and other things are to be given to Śiva on these and other occasions.

Chap. 11—Nandikeśvara's statement that the 'Śiva-dharma', declared by Śiva, is meant for yielding all the ends of life (including final emancipation) to those females and members of the four castes, who resort to the 'Śivāśrama' (stage of life in which Śiva is worshipped with all seriousness).

Construction of an ideal hermitage for Śiva-worship, which is to have a beautiful flower-garden on its north as well as a fire-sanctuary (agnyāgāra) and a guest-house for devotees of Śiva (śivabhaktābhyāgatālaya).

Absence of hiṃsā in plucking flowers for Śiva-worship.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of rendering service to them when they are tired, ill or otherwise. Praise of making gifts of necessary things to Śiva-bhaktas.

Denouncement of anger, and praise of tolerance (kṣamā), ahiṃsā, truth, non-stealing, etc.

Chap. 12—Nandikeśvara's enumeration of the various duties of the devotees of Śiva; praise of worshipping a long-neglected Liṅga without accepting anything; respect to be shown to Śiva-liṅgas, to Śiva-yogins, and to the flowers, garlands, etc. offered to Śiva; praise of gift of clothes, making of gardens, digging of wells, etc.; praise of feeding Śiva-worshipping Brahmins in Śrāddha and other ceremonies for the pleasure of Śiva; praise of Śiva-bhaktas (who are said to be much superior to Veda-knowing Brahmins), Śiva-yogins, Rudrākṣas and Śiva-dharma.

Enumeration of (i) the eight famous places (sthānāṣṭakam), called Rudra-kṣetras, viz., Bhastrāpada (Vastrāpatha ?), Rudrakoṭi, Avimukta, Mahodaya, Gokarṇa, Bhadrakarṇa, Suvarṇākṣa and Sthāṇvīśvara; (ii) the eight holy places (pavitrāṣṭakam), viz., Chagalānta, Durantāśva, Mākoṭa, Maṇḍaleśvara, Kālañjara, Śaṅkukarṇa, Sthaleśvara, and Sthūleśvara; (iii) the eight secret places (guhyāṣṭakam), viz., Gayā, Kurukṣetra, Nakhala, Kanakhala, Vimaleśvara, Dahāsa (?), Mahendra and Bhīma; (iv) the eight most secret places (guhyātiguhyam aṣṭakam), viz., Śrīparvata, Hariścandra, Jalpa, Āmrātikeśvara, Madhyama, Mahākāla, Kedāra and Bhairava; and (v) the eight places of religious merit (puṇyātmikāṣṭakam), viz., Āmreśvara, Prabhāsa, Naimiṣa, Puṣkara, Āṣāḍhi, Diṇḍi-muṇḍi, Bhārabhūti and Nakulīśvara.

From the summary of contents given above it is evident that the *Śiva-dharma* has nothing of any of the five characteristics of Purāṇas, nor does it name Vyāsa or Sūta as a speaker. It is purely a religious manual for the

guidance of Śiva-worshippers, and as such it is rightly called a 'Dharma-śāstra' and described as 'an eight-branched tree of religious duties having its origin from Śiva'.[26] Yet it came to be widely recognised as an Upapurāṇa, and this new character of the work was clearly due to the religious purpose for which it was intended like the other Purāṇic works of comparatively late dates.

The *Śiva-dharma*, sometimes called a 'Saṃhitā', in its chapter-colophons,[27] inculcates the worship of Rudra-Śiva in a Liṅga, lays special stress on Bhakti, and says that it is Yoga, proceeding from Jñāna, which puts an end to all sufferings.[28] In its opinion, that Mleccha is the best Brāhmin, a sage and an anchorite who has developed the eight types of Bhakti in him.[29] It advocates the maintenance of fire by Śiva-worshippers for the performance of Vedic rites and Śiva-worship, prescribes bath and painting of the sectarian mark Tripuṇḍra with ashes, calls Śiva 'mahāyogin', 'yogeśvara', 'nirañjana', 'nirākāra', etc., regards him (sometimes called Rudra) as the highest deity and the Supreme Brahma, and takes Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the inferior Rudra as his three Mātrās. It is remarkable that Śiva is not called 'Paśupati' anywhere in the whole work, nor is there any mention of the study of the Śatarudrīya section (of the *Yajurveda*) or the

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[26] *Ibid.*, Chap. 11, fol. 36b :

eṣa dharma-drumaḥ śrīmān aṣṭa-śākhaḥ śivodbhavaḥ.

[27] See, for instance, the colophons (*iti śiva-dharma-śāstre nandikeśvara-proktāyāṃ saṃhitāyām..............adhyāyaḥ......*) of Chaps. 3 and 4 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms. No. G 3852.

[28] *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 10, fol. 30a :

tan nirvedāc ca vairāgyaṃ vairāgyāj jñāna-saṃbhavaḥ ||
jñānāt pravartate yogo yogād duḥkhāntam āpnuyāt ||

[29] *Ibid.*, Chap. 1, fol. 2a :

bhaktir aṣṭa-vidhā [cai]ṣā yasmin mlecche 'pi vardhate |
sa viprendro muniḥ śrīmān sa yatiḥ sa ca paṇḍitaḥ ||

Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad by the Śiva-worshippers. On the other hand, on one occasion a Śiva-worshipper has been called 'Māheśvara', [30] and on another a 'devotee of Maheśvara' has been praised. The sectarian Mantra of six syllables (viz., oṃ namaḥ śivāya) has been called a six-syllabled Śiva-sūtra, the Bhāṣya of which is said to have been spoken out later by the all-knowing Self-born Being (Svayambhū).[31] The word 'vāmācāra', used twice with respect to Śiva,[32] need not be taken to connect the Śaivism professed by the present work with the Left-hand school of the Tantriks. This word simply means 'one of perverse activities', and nothing more.

We have already adduced reasons to show that the *Śiva-dharma*, originally a 'Śāstra', began to be looked upon as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D. This early date of the work can be supported by various other evidences, some of which are noted below. There are inscriptional evidences which show that in South India the *Śiva-dharma* was often recited for popular instruction during the reign of the Colas from 1070 to 1279 A.D.[33] In the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Newari Ms. containing six different works including the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*, and this Ms. is dated by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri in 'the twelfth century' A. D. from the nature of its script. In the same Library there is another Newari Ms.

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[30] *Ibid.*, Chap. 11, fol. 34b :

sudūram api gantavyaṃ yatra māheśvaro janaḥ.

[31] *Ibid.*, Chap. 7, fol. 21b. For the relevant lines see foot-note 24 above.

[32] *Ibid.*, Chap. 4, fol. 6b :

vāmāya vāma-rūpāya vāmācārāya bhāvine|
vāma-kāntārdha-dehāya anantāya namo'stu te||

Also Chap. 10, fol. 28a :

sarva-velām atikramya naktam uttama-bhojanam|
vāmācāro mahādevo naktenoddharate narān||

[33] See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, II. i. p. 481.

containing nine different works (including the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*), the eighth of which, called *Lalita-vistara*, has a post-colophon statement which informs us that it was copied in the Nepali Saṃvat 156 (=1036 A. D.) during the reign of Lakṣmīkāma-deva.[34] The *Śiva-dharma* has been mentioned in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (p. 30) as well as in the *Śiva-purāṇa* (Vāyavīya-saṃhitā ii. 24. 170)[35] and the '*Saura-purāṇa*' as known to Hemādri[36]; and its name has been included in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa*, *Parāśara-upapurāṇa*, etc.[37] A good number of verses of this work has been quoted in Nīlakaṇṭha's *Ācāra-mayūkha*, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's *Tantra-sāra*, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's *Nityācara-pradīpa*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi*, Rudradhara's *Varṣa-kṛtya*, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's *Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā*, and so on; and most of these quoted verses are found in the present text of the *Śiva-dharma* (see Appendix I). So, the *Śiva-dharma* must be dated earlier than 800 A. D. We shall show on another occasion that the *Śiva-dharmottara* was composed later than the *Śiva-dharma* but earlier than 800 A.D. So, the *Śiva-dharma* can by no means be dated later than 700 A. D. The facts that the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*[38] mentions the *Śiva-dharma* in

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[34] See foot-note 1 above.

[35] The Vāyavīya-saṃhitā of the *Śiva-purāṇa* has also incorporated verses of the *Śiva-dharma*. For instance, the verse 'liṅga-vedī bhaved devī,' which is ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 132 and which occurs in Chap. 5 of the present text of the *Śivadharma*, is the same as *Śiva-purāṇa*, Vāyavīa-Saṃhitā, ii. 27. 13.

[36] For the relevant verses of the *Saura-purāṇa*, as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 539-540, see foot-note 4 above.

[37] For these lists see my article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXI, 1940, pp. 38ff.

[38] For the date of the original chapters of the Brāhma Parvan of the printed *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* see R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 170-172.

one of its original chapters and that the Nakṣatras have been mentioned in the latter work in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī[39] tend to indicate that the *Śiva-dharma* was composed earlier than 550 A. D. From the mention of the Buddha and the Ārhata as worshipping Śiva-liṅgas[40] and of the names of the zodiacal signs[41] (rāśi) it appears that the *Śiva-dharma* was written later than the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. So, this work is to be dated between 200 and 500 A.D.; and this early roigin of the work explains why it is totally free from Tantric influence.

The opening verse (*namas tuṅga-śiraś-cumbi°*, etc.) of our Ms., which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*, need not be taken to go against the above date of the *Śiva-dharma*. This verse, which does not occur in all Mss. of the *Śiva-dharma*, might have been added to it sometime between 650 and 1000 A. D.

It is difficult to say anything definitely about the provenance of the *Śiva-dharma*. From the mention of the names of mountains, rivers and holy places mostly belonging to Northern India it appears that this work was composed somewhere in that part of the country. The occurrence of the text of the *Śiva-dharma* mostly in Newari Mss. or on Nepalese paper and the mention of the Devikā, a small river in South-

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39 See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6, fols. 16b-17a.

It is to be noted that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A. D. that we find in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira the new order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it is highly probable that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A. D.

40 For the relevant verses of the *Śiva-dharma* see foot-notes 11-12 above.

41 See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6 (fol. 17a).

The familiarity of ancient people with the Tithis, Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term 'rāśi' in all early works down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāśis earlier than the second century A. D.

ern Kashmir, and of the Candrabhāgā as a highly sacred river,[42] seem to point to Southern Kashmir or the Northern Punjab as the place of origin of the *Śiva-dharma*.[43]

The similarity between the names of the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara* has sometimes confused the Smṛti-writers in quoting verses from the one or the other. In his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 467, II. ii, p. 396 and II. ii, pp. 887-889 Hemādri wrongly ascribes to the *Śiva-dharmottara* three extracts of 3, 6 and 37 verses on 'vṛṣabhādhika-go-śata-dāna', Umā-maheśvara-vrata and Śiva-liṅga-vrata respectively which really occur in *Śiva-dharma*, Chaps. 10 and 9. The verse

"*saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ* /
deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ" //,

which really belongs to *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 2, has been wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III. i, p. 353 and Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 657.

An examination of the extracts and verses quoted in different works from the *Śiva-dharma*, shows that there has not been any serious change in the text of this work at least for a long time. Besides a few isolated verses mostly on Liṅga-worship, there is a long extract of 69 metrical lines on Mauna-vrata (Vow of Silence), which, though spoken out by Nandikeśvara and ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II. ii, pp. 879-883, is not found in the present *Śiva-dharma*. But the number of such untraceable verses is rather small in comparison with that of the traceable ones.

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42 *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 18a).

43 In my article on the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, published in *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, III, 1952, pp. 39-64, I have shown that this work was composed either in Southern Kashmir or in the northern-most part of the Punjab.

APPENDIX I

VERSES ASCRIBED TO THE *ŚIVA-DHARMA* OR *ŚIVA-DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA*

1. In *Smṛti-candrikā* (of Devaṇabhaṭṭa)	In *Śiva-dharma*
ii, p. 539	... Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).
p. 553	... Chap. 7 (same 2 verses as mentioned above).
pp. 553-561	... Chap. 5 (74 verses on fols. 7a-11a).

2. In *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (of Hemādri)	In *Śiva-dharma*
I, p. 467	... Chap. 10 (2 verses on fol. 33a).
pp. 508-9	... Chap. 8 (17 metrical lines on fol. 26a).
p. 593	... Chap. 8 (1 verse on fol. 26a).
pp. 637-8	... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 26a).
p. 915	... Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 32b).
II. i, p. 235	... Chap. 5 (5 verses on fol. 7b). Of the 7 verses quoted by Hemādri, the last two (from 'payo-dadhi-ghṛta etc.'), are not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.
pp. 235-6	. Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 8a).
II. ii, p. 154	... Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 30b).
pp. 240-241	... Chap. 8 (9 metrical lines on fol. 24a).
p. 241	... Chap. 10 (3 verses on fol. 30b).
pp. 252-3	... Chap. 10 (5 verses on fol. 30b).
p. 395	... Chap. 10 (10 verses on fols. 29b-30a).
p. 843	... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b).
pp. 848-853	... Chap. 10 (105 metrical lines on fols. 30b-32b).

pp. 887-9 (wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharmottara*)	... Chap. 9 (37 lines on Śiva-liṅga-vrata on fols. 26b-27a).
pp. 911-912	Chap. 8 (6 verses on fol. 23a-b).
pp. 1030-31	... Chap. 8 (12 verses on fol. 25b).
III. ii, pp. 881-2	... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b).
3. In Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* (ed. V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay)	In *Śiva-dharma*
I i, pp. 375-6	... Chap. 7 (1 verse on fol. 20b). The second quoted verse (sakṛt pūjayate yas tu) is not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.
4. In *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upādhāya, Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. Smṛti-117)	In *Śiva-dharma*
fol. 25a-bcf.	... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 12b).
fol. 47a	... Chap. 8 (2 verses on fol. 24b).
5. In *Varṣa-Kṛtya* (of Rudradhara)	In *Śiva-dharma*
p. 151	... Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).
6. In *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana)	In *Śiva-dharma*
I. p. 132	... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 10a).
7. In *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nīlakaṇṭha, ed. Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay)	In *Śiva-dharma*
p. 96	... Chap. 5 (1 verse 'liṅgānulepanaṃ, etc.' on fol. 8b). The other two quoted verses are not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.
p. 97	... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 10a).

Verses from the *Śiva-dharma* have also been quoted in the following works :

Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares), Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 114.

Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), II, p. 543; III, pp. 188, 236, 386, 440-2, 446.

APPENDIX II.

The verses ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharma*' in the following works are not found in the present *Śiva-dharma* :

(1) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 44, 109; II. i, p. 44; II. ii, pp. 879-883 (on Mauna-vrata).

(2) Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. i, p. 190.

(3) *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya), fols. 25b, 47a, 47b.

(4) *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi* (of Vācaspati Miśra), p. 46.

(5) *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin), p. 138.

(6) *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana), I, pp. 129-130, 131, 407.

(7) *Tantra-sāra* (of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa) I, p. 46.

(8) *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nīlakaṇṭha), p. 94.

DATE OF THE BHĀRATA BATTLE OR MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

REJOINDER NO. II*

By P. C. Sengupta

For finding the year of the Bhārata War, as he calls it, Professor Bhattacharya depends solely on the two *Mahābhārata* statements : (i) the first is Kṛṣṇa's challenge to Karṇa that he began the fight on the day of the coming new-moon in the *Jyeṣṭhā* nakṣatra of which the "junction star" is *Antares* and (ii) the other is the *Mahābhārata* statement of Bhīṣma on the day of his expiry that it was in the last quarter of the month of *Māgha* of the Battle year. If the lunar reckoning be of full-moon ending, the last quarter day of the month would be in the bright half; if the lunar reckoning be of the new-moon ending months, the last quarter day would be in the dark half of the month of *Māgha* (lunar). Prof. Bhattacharya further assumes that the former last quarter day was the winter solstice day as well and found by actual calculation correct up to the exact time of the day. We shall show that all his assumptions are false due to his imperfect acquaintance with the *Mahābhārata* and with the history of the development of Hindu astronomy from the Vedic times. We shall first show that the solution of his problem can never be unique.

Now, the star *Antares* is 2°20′ ahead of the first point of the nakṣatra *Jyeṣṭhā* according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta*. The nakṣatra then extends up to 11° ahead of the star. Prof. Bh. in the solution of his problem assumes that the instant

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*The references are to : (1) the paper on "The Date of the Bhārata War" by Prof. Tarakeshwar Bhattacharya, late of the Assam Educational Service; (2) A Rejoinder by P. C. Sengupta; and (3) A Reply to My Rejoinder by Prof. Bhattacharya. All these three papers have been published in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* from November 1950 issue in succession.

of new-moon came at the star *Antares*[1] itself. This is against his idea that the Hindu astronomy had already developed in the Pāṇḍava times as far as our knowledge of astronomy extends now-a-days. This assumption is most arbitrary. Let us then take that the new-moon in the nakṣatra *Jyeṣṭhā* was like that of December 13, 1936, and the day of the last quarter of the full-moon ending Māgha as the 18th of February 1937, the interval being exactly 67 days. This last day would then correspond with the winter solstice day of Bhīṣma's expiry according to Prof. Bh.'s assumption.

On the 18th February, 1937 at G. M. N. or Kurukṣetra M. time 17 hrs. 8 min., the mean sun becomes 328° 3′ 33″ to which we have to add 1° 53′ of equation true for about 2450 B. C. for the mean longitude of 270°. The sum becomes 329° 56′ 33″. Now deducting 270°, we find the total shifting of the solstices=59° 56′ 33″. The mean precession rate works out at 49″.7845 per year. The elapsed years till 1936=4335. We want to have the elapsed years a complete luni-solar-stellar cycle. We find that

$$4335+4=1939\times 2+160\times 2+19\times 7+8.$$

It has been shown in my work *Ancient Indian Chronology*,[2] that 1939, 160, 19 and 8 years (sidereal) are the cycles in which the moon's phases near the fixed stars are repeated. In the above case, of the total years elapsed till 1936 A. D. the number 4335 has got to be increased by 4, i.e., 4339 years till 1936 A. D. to make up a complete luni-solar-stellar cycle. Now, subtracting 4339 from 1936 A. D. we arrive at the year 2404-2403 B. C. as the year of the Bhārata Battle under Prof. Bh.'s faith in the words of Kṛṣṇa and Bhīṣma as understood by him. It is, of course, necessary to verify by back calculation if a complete solution of this

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[1] Prof. Bhattacharya's original paper in *JGRI* for November 1950, page 19.

[2] P. C. Sengupta's work *Ancient Indian Chronology*, page 16, and also *JRASB* Letters, Vol. II, No. 10, page 113.

problem has been arrived at. As to this method it is that which has been used in my work *Ancient Indian Chronology* on pages 12—19. (I)

Note : $19 \times 7 + 8 = 141$ and Bhāskara II has said that the exact additive months come in 141 years and sometimes even in 19 years. His words are कुवेदेन्दुवर्षे क्वचिद्गोकुभिश्च.[3]

In the above case the total years elapsed till 1936 A. D. from the precession rule has to be increased by 4. In some cases, some years have to be subtracted from the calculated interval, to get at a complete luni-solar-stellar cycle. In finding the year of the Bhārata Battle by my set of data in the second method, the total elapsed years till 1929 A. D. came out as 4379 years;[4] these had to be reduced by 2 years as $4379 = 1939 \times 2 + 160 \times 3 + 19 + 2$, when I accepted the Vṛddha Garga Tradition for the anchorage of my finding, as the luni-solar methods do not yield any unique solution.

My second method of attacking the problem of finding the year of the Bhārata Battle has been as direct, neat and clear as might be desired. If we apply this method to find the year of the Battle according to Prof. Bh.'s Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition, we take for the gauge year* in our time in which the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon happened as near as possible to the star *Antares*; that gauge year was to be either 1929-30 A. D. or 1937-38 A. D.

Now by taking the gauge year 1929-30 A. D. the date for the Māgha Śukla 8th tithi would fall on February 6, 1930 A. D. On this date at G. M. Noon or Kurukṣetra mean time 17 hrs. 8 mins., the sun's mean longitude comes out 315° 53′. To this we add the equation true for the mean longitude of 270° which is 1° 30′; the result is 317° 23′. The total shifting of the solstices becomes

[3] Bhāskara II, *Grahagaṇita*, *Adhimāsādi Nirṇaya*, St. 7.

[4] P. C. Sengupta—*A. I. Chronology*, page 14, line 15.

* The phrase "gauge year" has been used in the sense as the "year which is similar to the year of the Bharata battle" in respect of the moon's phases near to the fixed stars.

47° 23′. Time elapsed till 1929 A. D. becomes 3419 years.

$$\text{Now } 3419 = 1939 \times 1 + 160 \times 9 + 19 \times 2 + 2.$$

Hence we take the correct number of elapsed years =3417 years. The year of the Bhārata War in Prof. Bh.'s hypothesis becomes 1489—88 B. C. as a possible year shown by him in his paper on page 47. This is a central solution. (II)

Again if we take for the gauge year, the year 1937-38 A. D. the central solution arrived becomes 1621-20 B. C. under Prof. Bh.'s Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition. (III) The first central solution of the Professor's problem has come out as the year 2404-03 B. C. By going up and down these three central solutions, many solutions of his problem are possible.

Prof. Bh. rejects 1489-88 B. C., as a solution of his problem by adopting the *Sūrya-siddhāntic ārdharātrika* system of day beginning. This is not in evidence either in the *Jyautiṣa Vedāṅgas*, or in the *Mahābbhārata* or in the *Paitāmaha-Siddhānta* of Varāhamihira—they have the phrases, " स्वराक्रमेते सोमार्कौ ", " अहः पूर्वं ततो रात्रिः " and तदह्न्युदयात् respectively all indicating that the day begins with the sunrise. Prof. Bh. cannot therefore reject the year 1489-88 B. C. as a solution of his problem. No unique solution is possible by astronomical methods of Prof. Bh.'s problem. The gauge years for my method may also be the years—

1928	with	Jyeṣṭhā	N. Moon	on		Dec. 12
1931	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Dec. 12
1934	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Dec. 6
1939	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Dec. 10
1942	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Dec. 8
1945	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Dec. 4
1947	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Dec. 12

Prof. Bh. is apparently a believer of the *Purāṇic* dubious saying which states that from the birth of Parīkṣita to the

accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, the interval is to be known as 1015, 1050, 1115 or even 1500 years. To put any faith in such a statement is most illogical. If now-a-days such a statement is made by a witness before a modern court of law he becomes liable to prosecution for perjury. Prof. Bh. is also very clumsy in his method of solving his own problem which is based almost on nothing. He is believer in his speculation or assertion that astronomy of the Pāṇḍava times was of an advanced type equal to our present day knowledge of the science or might even be of a much higher type. He has found fault with my statement or assumption that in the Pāṇḍava times by the term "nakṣatra" was meant a star or star group only, but strange to say, he has conceived the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon at the star *Jyeṣṭhā* or *Antares*. His profession and practice are at variance with each other.

Let us now seriously consider the question : "Was the great fight begun on the day of the new-moon at *Antares*?" It was Kṛṣṇa's challenge to Karṇa. Now Kṛṣṇa did not fight at all, and Karṇa also did not fight for the first[5] ten days of the Battle. The battle was begun by Bhīṣma the first Kaurava general in consultation with his lieutenants and not by Karna. The laws of chivalry were strictly followed throughout except on the night following the last day of the fight. There were many preliminaries to be made before the fight began e.g. how and where the armies were to take rest during the nights, arrangements for supply of food and stocking of the requisite number of arrows on either side and many more arrangements had to be made. Under such circumstances we cannot agree with Prof. Bh. that the great battle was begun on the coming *Jyeṣṭhā* new-

[5] *Mbb.*, Anukramaṇikā, st. 179 यदाश्रौषं कर्ण उवाच भीष्मं नाहं योत्स्ये युद्धयमाने त्वयीति। हित्वा सेनामपचक्राम चापि तदा नाशंसे विजयाय संजय॥ *Mbb.*, Udyoga, Ch. 155, 25. नाहं जीवति गांगेये राजन् योत्स्ये कदाचन। हते भीष्मे तु योत्स्यामि सह गाण्डीवधन्वना॥

moon in eight days only of the meeting between Kṛṣṇa and Karṇa. The most potent reasons are set forth below :

(a) The event that a crescent moon rose some time before the next sunrise in the later part of the night following the fourteenth day of the battle explodes Prof. Bh.'s Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition completely. Here he applies his cudgel to this statement. This is *argumentum ad baculum*. This event cannot be cudgelled out by force or rejected as Prof. Bh. says. It was the *sole reason* which led me to throw out the idea that the battle had begun on the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day. This event is so important that it leads to the conclusion that the moon on the 14th day of battle was 27 days old or it was the *Kṛṣṇā Dvādaśī* day. Hence from the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon to this 14th day, the interval was 27 days. The battle lasted 4 days more. Hence the interval between the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon and the last day of the fight was of..................................31 days.

To this add the days on which Bhīṣma was still on the bed of arrows, viz.,............................50 days.

∴ The total from the day of new-moon at *Antares* to that of Bhīṣma's expiry becomes..........81 days. (A)

These 81 days comprise $2\frac{3}{4}$ lunations. Hence, Bhīṣma expired on the day of the last quarter of new-moon ending lunar month of *Māgha*, the month of *Mārga* being reckoned from the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day.

(b) The next enemy of Prof. Bh. is the statement of Baladeva that he had gone out on a pilgrimage tour to the holy baths on the river *Sarasvatī* on *Puṣyā* day and returned on the *Śravaṇā* day which was the forty-second day and that he returned to witness the mace-duel between his favourite pupils Duryodhana and Bhīma. Here Prof. Bh. by misconstruction wants to make out, that Baladeva had gone out on the *Śravaṇā* day and returned on the *Puṣyā* day. This misconstruction is known as a literary murder

or butchery. This stanza is intolerable in the extreme to Prof. Bh. as it explodes root and branch, his favourite Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition. Like a medieval knight he is armed with a club and sword and is bent upon destroying all opposition. The verse which he wants to destroy runs—पुष्येण संप्रयातोऽस्मि श्रवणे पुनरागतः

The words पुष्येण and श्रवणे are the heads of the two quarter stanzas. He severs the heads with his sword and like the princess in a *Vetālapañcaviṁśati* story, grafts them on to the truncated bodies of the *pādas* in the "inverse" order.

This misconstruction here is not permissible according to all Sanskritists of my acquaintance among whom are Mm. Prof. Vidhuśekhara Śāstrin, Prof. Vanamālī Vedāntatīrtha and Pandita Pulina Vihārī Vyākaraṇa-Sāṁkhya-Vedāntatīrtha of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. If we take the normal meaning of the verse quoted above, we learn that the day of the mace-duel of the Bhārata Battle was a *Śravaṇā* day. Now, the *Śravaṇā* day may come after the *Jyeṣṭhā* day in 4 or 31(=4+27) days.

Hence from the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day to the last day of the fight, the interval was of..................31 days.

Now, add the number of days in which Bhīṣma was still on the bed of arrows.......................50 days.

Hence, from the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day to the day of Bhīṣma's expiry becomes as before..........81 days. (B)

I got the idea that as the Battle could not possibly begin on the *Jyeṣṭha* new-moon day, a conjunction of the moon with the *Kṛttikās* or *Pleiades* group must come in 13 days. These 13 days together with the 18 days of fighting make up 31 days as before, and Bhīṣma expired 50 days later. Hence as before we have the same 81 days as the interval between the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day and the day of Bhīṣma's expiry. (C)

This interval of 81 days comprises $2\frac{3}{4}$ lunations and Bhīṣma's expiry falls on the *Ekāṣṭakā* day. Hence also

thirteen days later than the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day was the day which just preceded the beginning of the fight. This *Kṛttikā* day was *Anumati Paurṇamāsī* and the next day was the *Rākā Paurṇamāsī* on which the battle began. In my battle calendar will be seen that on the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day, the sun, moon, *Antares* and the lunar perigee came together very nearly. The moon's course during the bright half of the month was rather rapid. The two *Paurṇamāsīs* are to be understood in the manner of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* thus : या पूर्वा पौर्णमासी सानुमतिर्योत्तरा सा राका या पूर्वामावास्या सा सिनीवाली योत्तरा सा कुहूः ॥ (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 32, 10.)

This represents the oldest definition of the two *Paurṇamāsīs* and the two *Amāvāsyās*. No modern definition of the terms is permissible.

Again from Ch. 2 of the *Bhīṣmaparva* I got the following stanza which according to my judgment was :

आलक्ष्ये प्रभया हीनां पौर्णमासीं च कार्त्तिकीम् ।
चन्द्रोऽभूदग्निवर्णश्च पद्मवर्णे नभस्थले ॥

I thought that this was the correct reading of the stanza. I found subsequently that this was given in the *Kumbhakonam* edition of the *Mahābhārata* with this difference that in place "पद्मवर्णे" we have there "समवर्णे". These words mean almost the same thing. A scientific investigator should always be scrutinizing for truth. Prof. Bh. in this case falls far short of this high ideal of a researcher, as he wants to be guided merely by the reading "accepted by others". There can be no place for *argumentum ad verecundium* in research.

The stanza quoted naturally divides the period of 31 days by a definite division of 13+18=31. Then from the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day to the *Anumati Paurṇamāsī* at the *Kṛttikās*, the period is of ....13 days

Bhīṣma's generalship.....................10 days

Bhīṣma on bed of arrows.................58 days

Total=81 days (D).

as before. This also leads to the conclusion that Bhīṣma died on the *Ekāṣṭakā* day or the day of last quarter of Māgha lunar new-moon ending. This has been shown in no less than four different ways.

The last *Mahābhārata* statement of my selection or presentation is a dubious one in the second half of the last line. I rejected it as it could not be reconciled with the other seven *Mahābhārata* statements which point all to the impossibility of this *tail* of the last statement. This has been unacceptable to Tilak, Ketkar and other researchers. Prof. Bh. clings to his Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition with something like communal frenzy. To disbelieve the later *Pañcāṅgas* or the *Smṛti*-Hindu *shariat* as to fixing the *Bhīṣmāṣṭamī* day in the bright half of the month is considered as a sacrilege punishable by death as it were. It is a veritable "Turkish-war" waged by "Tarakeshwar" armed with mace and sword. *We have shown fully how the Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition of Prof. Bh. is wrong at both ends. The great Battle did not begin according to Kṛṣṇa's challenge, and Bhīṣma's death or expiry happened not in the bright half of the month.* The months in my selection of data from the *Mahābhārata*, evidently are new-moon ending lunar months, never "the solar months", as often alleged by Prof. Bh.

We now proceed to set forth how and why the *Mahābhārata* statements selected by me for data should be interpreted in terms of the new-moon ending lunar months. Some reasons have been set forth already. According to my findings the date of the Bhārata Battle has come out as 2449 B. C. This has been corroborated by the Vṛddha Garga Tradition as recorded by Varāhamihira. The date could not hence be moved up and down although this is allowable astronomically. I had to cast anchor at the Vṛddha Garga Tradition so to speak.

In my paper, in *JRASB* Letters Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1950, page 7, ll. 35-36, I have shown that the Pāṇḍavas went

into their exile on the 4th August of the year 2462 B. C. The months became full-moon ending no doubt by being begun from two days after the full-moon day. The date for the Pāṇḍavas' exile was full seven months (lunar) after the winter solstice day of January 10 of 2462 B. C. The first period of their exile, viz., 12 years would end seven lunations after the W. S. D. of the year 2450 B. C.[6]

In this year January 10 was both a new-moon and winter solstice day. The sun came to the winter turning point, at 3 a. m. and the new-moon happened at 8 p.m. The months were consequently taken as new-moon ending and would continue to be so reckoned for 4 years to come. Between this new-moon on January 10, 2450 and the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon of October 21, 2449 B. C. the number of days= 650, comprising *twenty-two* new-moon ending months. The new-moon ending lunar months would continue for the next 27.5 months more. This consideration shows how the new-moon ending months came to be reckoned in the eight *Mahābhārata* data of my selection. Hence also Bhīṣma expired on the day of the last quarter of lunar month Māgha new-moon ending.

We must now say something about the meaning of the word "समनुप्राप्त" in Bhīṣma's statement—माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्तो मासः सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर। त्रिभागशेषः।

This must mean that the lunar Māgha *has almost got into the previous year*. This is the real meaning of the word "समनुप्राप्त". In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiṣkindhyā-kāṇḍa*, chapter 26, we get the use of this meaning of the word :

पूर्वोऽयं वार्षिको मासः श्रावणः सलिलागमः।
प्रवृत्ताः सौम्य चत्वारो मासा वार्षिकसंज्ञिताः ॥१४॥

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[6] वर्षाणि द्वादशारण्ये त्रयोदशमुपस्थितम्।
तत्र मे नाभिजानीयुर्वसतो मनुजाः क्वचित्॥ *Mbh.* Vana, 313, 15.
उषिताश्च वने कृच्छ्रे वयं द्वादशवत्सरान्।
अज्ञातवाससमयं शेषं वर्षंत्रयोदशम्॥ Ibid, 314, 5.

It is evident that the W. S. day of 2450 B. C. was carefully determined to settle the end of the first twelve years of the exile.

A few lines below the above stanza, we have

कार्त्तिके समनुप्राप्ते त्वं रावणवधे यत् ।

the variant reading is

कार्त्तकीं समतिक्रम्य त्वं रावणवधे यत् ।

The *Vārṣika* months, i.e. the rainy season, lasts or lasted the four months of *Śrāvaṇa*, *Bhādrapada*, *Āśvina* and *Kārttika*. Rāma here exhorts Sugrīva to try for the destruction of Rāvaṇa at the end of *Kārttika* i. e. when the rainy season would be over. Here the word 'समनुप्राप्ते' means 'nearly over' or even 'wholly over.'

We must now say something about the "advanced state of astronomy" as alleged by Prof. Bh. in the Pāṇḍava times. This is wholly wrong, unnecessary and betrays his utter ignorance of the development of the pre-scientific Hindu astronomy in Vedic and post-Vedic ages. On page 4 of my work and in *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XVI, No. 1, I have said in explaining the occurrence of the fifth case-ending in "*saptamāt*" in Kṛṣṇa's challenge to Karṇa, that in the latter half of the previous night the straight edge of the dichotomised moon was probably observed as to have passed over the star *Regulus*. This formed the basis of this prediction of the coming moon. Now from the definition of the *Ekāṣṭakā* as या माघ्याः पौर्णमास्या उपरिष्टाद् व्यष्टका तस्याष्टमी ज्येष्ठया संपद्यते तामेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते as in the *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*, VIII. 81. 19, it follows that it was a common knowledge of those times that in a quarter lunation, the moon passes from the star *Maghā* or *Regulus* to *Jyeṣṭhā* or *Antares*. For application of this knowledge by Kṛṣṇa, no "advanced system of astronomy" need be assumed to have been current in the Pāṇḍava times. In these times (i.e. of the Pāṇḍavas) we can safely assume that Hindu astronomy had developed as far as the *Jyautiṣa Vedāṅgas* reveal, which is briefly :

Year	=366 days.
Season	=61 days or the time of passing through 4½ nakṣatras by the sun.

Lunar months =62.
Sun's revols. =5.
∴ Sid. lunar months =67.

About 1400 B. C., the position of the solstices is given as the north solstice at the middle of the nakṣatra *Aśleṣā* and the south solstice at the first point of the nakṣatra *Dhaniṣṭhā*.[7] There was no knowledge of the fact that the sun's northerly and southerly courses were of unequal length. According to my finding they were of 185.5 and 179.7 days nearly. Men had given up the idea of correctly determining the summer solstice days as well. They were content with determining the winter solstice day only. They could never use the "solar" months as repeatedly asserted by Prof. Bh. They could accurately find the winter solstice day of any year. For this, the method has been described in chapter XIII of my work, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 155ff.; also *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. IV, No. 16. The method belonged to the *Brāhmaṇas*. Again the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (circa 900 B. C.) in Kāṇḍikā I, Prapā 8, Anuvāka 10, Br. 2, says, पौर्णमास्यां पूर्वमहर्भवति व्यष्टकायामुत्तरम्। नानैवार्धमासयोः प्रतितिष्ठति। अमावास्यायां पूर्वमहर्भवति। उद्दृष्ट उत्तरम्। नानैव मासयो प्रतितिष्ठति।

This passage reads like a puzzle as in the same book at the same place both the full-moon ending and the new-moon ending months are to be regarded as to have been reckoned in this same period. This is made clear in this way. If on any day of the year there happens a full-moon, four years later on the same day there would be a new-moon, e.g.,

June 21, 1948 was a full-moon day.
June 21, 1952 was new-moon day.

With the sacrificial priests called *Brahmās*, such dates of the year were impossible of recognition. They could however find accurately the winter solstice day by observa-

[7] प्रपद्येते प्रविष्टादौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावुदक्।
सार्पार्धे दक्षिणार्कस्तु माघश्रावणयोः सदा॥१॥

Yājuṣa Jyautiṣam, 7.

tion. They could then find the day alone and not the instant of winter solstice of any year. This cannot be done by observation even now by the methods of observation as the sun's declination changes very *little* in 3 days at the solstices.

As the *Brāhmaṇas* could settle accurately the winter solstice day alone—their observation refer to this day of the year alone. The nature of the coming months depended on the lunar-phase on this day alone. Hence by "*Pūrva Ahar*" we mean the W. S. day, the last day of the year ended, and "*Uttara Ahar*" means the day from which the sun's northerly course began according to these priests. The passage quoted from the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* may now be rendered into English as :

"The full-moon day becomes the winter solstice day and the L. quarter of the new-moon ending Māgha becomes the first day of the sun's northerly course. Various are the ways in which half-months are established. The new-moon day becomes the winter solstice day, the day of the first visibility of the crescent the first day of the sun's northerly course. Various also are the ways in which the two sorts of lunar months are established."

The *rationale* behind these rules is not difficult to follow. In eight years there are 99 lunations, hence in 4 years there would be 49.5 lunations=1461.74 days and in 4 tropical years there are 1461 days. In 4 periods of 4 years each, there would be 5844 or 5845 days and in 198 lunations there would be 5846 days and the next 3 years there would be 1096 days and in 37 lunations=1093 days nearly. Hence in 19 years there are 6940 days and in 235 lunations would comprise 6939 days nearly. The Vedic high priests or *Brāhmaṇas* could really discover that in 19 years क्षयं संवत्सराणां च मासानां तथा क्षयं पक्षक्षयं तथा दृष्ट्वा (*Mahābhārata*, Śānti., ch. 301, 46-47). There were the losses of years, lunations and half luna-

tions when they found by frequent observation the winter solstice days in successive years. In my researches can be found that on the *W. S. days* :

(1) On January 10, 2462 B. C., the *tithi* was the 2nd of dark half. Lunar months full-moon ending started.

( ) On January 10, 2454 B. C., the *tithi* was 15th. Lunar months full-moon ending started.

(3) On January 10, 2450 B. C., it was new-moon. Lunar months new-moon ending started.

(4) On January 9, 2446 B. C. (winter solstice day) it was the 13th of bright half. Lunar months full-moon ending started.

We have thus shown fully, how in the *Mahābhārata* data of my selection there came the new-moon ending lunar months into use. It is most futile to assume or assert that these months were full-moon ending.

The reader will now recognise that Prof. Bh.'s favourite Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition, as he calls it, is wholly wrong. It is almost impossible to see how he entered upon cudgelling out and destroying the references which all go against his favourite wrong-headed tradition. He has started his paper in order to establish the year of the Bhārata Battle at about 1430 B. C. which is a preconceived idea under which no scientific investigation is possible. He boasts much as to his method of solution of his problem and its solution. My work, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, has been with him for five years. yet he has not been able to discover any method in my solution of the problem. My method has shown that his Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition may lead to a series of dates from 2442 B. C. to 1432 B. C. and down to lower dates. Methods of astronomy can never lead to any unique solution of any chronological problem when the data are purely luni-solar in character,

Prof. Bh. has held up for Yudhiṣṭhira's consecration to the Aśvamedha sacrifice, the date of 10th March, 1431 B. C. and his Battle year has been 1432 B. C. On this date he has shown the longitude of the sun as 335° 44′ 27″. This has been wrong for the following reasons :

(a) The longitude of the sun should have been 330° nearly, i. e., as at the beginning of Indian spring. His finding has been wrong astronomically on this account. The year-long sacrifices were begun at the very beginning of the Indian spring. He should have gone down by 6 years; he then could get a full-moon very nearly on the winter solstice day—an *Aśleṣā* full-moon like that of February 5, 1928, and a full-moon on April 5, 1928, a *Hastā* full-moon. Between the two dates there would intervene 60 days nearly i. e. two lunations *plus* one day=almost the length of winter. The date for the consecration of Yudhiṣṭhira, however, could not have been delayed by 6 years.

Now the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* says that when the winter solstice fell on the new-moon day of Māgha ended, the consecration for the year long sacrifices should take place one day later than next Caitra new-moon[8] or Amāvāsyā i. e. exactly 60 days later than the winter solstice day. In the case of Prof. Bh.'s finding we do not get the "Caitra or Citrā Pūrṇamāsa" 60 days later than the winter solstice day. The winter solstice day fell on the 8th tithi of Māgha Śukla i. e. the 2nd January 1431 and the 8th of March 1431 B. C. the date of Yudhiṣṭhira's consecration according to Prof. Bh. The intervening days are 65, while 60 or 61 days are required by the rules. Thus so far as the Vedic calendar and astronomy go, they tell us that Prof. Bh. is wrong in seeking for the date of consecration in his very year of the Bhārata Battle.

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[8] P. C. Sengupta—*Ancient Indian Chronology*, 163, line 21 where the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* is quoted.

(b) The following facts or rather events of the Pāṇḍava times go against Prof. Bh.'s finding of the date for Yudhiṣṭhira's consecration to the Aśvamedha sacrifice :

(1) The birth of Parīkṣita one year after the Bhārata Battle. Abhimanyu and Uttarā were married almost immediately before the Bhārata Battle broke out.[9]

(2) In order to meet the expenses for the Aśvamedha sacrifice, Yudhiṣṭhīra led an expedition to the foot of the Himalayas to fetch gold. He returned to Hastināpura one month later than the birth[10] of Parīkṣita, with an enormous quantity of gold.

(3) The date for the consecration of Yudhiṣṭhira was fixed on following full-moon at *Citrā*[11] following his return.

According to my finding the date for the consecration of Yudhiṣṭhira has come out as March 11, 2446 B. C. which was two years and two months after Bhīṣma's expiry. This finding has been most satisfactory from all points of view mentioned above. It is correct astronomically, correct according to the Brāhmaṇa rules, correct according to the post-War Pāṇḍava events as in the Aśvamedhaparva of the *Mahābhārata*. Prof. Bh.'s attempt in this case has been a total failure.

Prof. Bh.'s finding of the year of the Bhārata Battle has been wrong none the less. He wants to put it as 1432 B. C. Those minded like him and who support this theory, should see that in six years, there would be a full-moon very near the first point of *Dhaniṣṭhā* on the W. solstice day and the full-moon day would be an *Aśleṣā* day at the middle of the nakṣātra nearly and not on a Māgha

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[9] *Mbh.* Aśvamedhaparva Chs. 66—69.

[10] *Ibid.* Ch. 70.

[11] *Ibid.* Ch. 72.

day. Hence no *Kaliyuga* can be brought in with such a date for the Bhārata War.

Prof. Bh. does not see that his favourite Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition may lead to dates from 2442 B. C. ranging downwards to as late as his favourite solution of 1432 B. C. or even still more lower dates. For the solution of the problem of finding the year of the Bhārata Battle, I made a selection of eight *Mahābhārata incidential* statements, which, except the last quarter of the eighth statement I fully used, and my result has come out as 2449 B. C., or the Śaka year 2526. This found anchorage in a well-known tradition—the Vṛddha Garga Tradition as recorded by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. It would have been wrong to shift the date arrived at under this circumstance. The above tradition is quite unequivocal not like Purāṇic statements which say that the interval between the birth of Parīkṣita and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda was 1015, 1050, 1115 or 1500 years. Prof. Bh. has accepted the lowest of these periods for reasons best known to him and seeks to establish this from the *Mahābhārata* statements, viz. his favourite Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition, a creation of his brain. To uphold this he applies his cudgel and sword to six references of my selection but all of them cry out repeatedly that his fancy viz. faith in his Kṛṣṇa-Bhīṣma tradition is wrong at both ends. Bhīṣma did not die on the first quarter but on the last quarter of the lunar Māgha new-moon ending, and the fight did not begin on the *Jyeṣṭhā* new-moon day.

Prof. Bh. has failed to corroborate the *Mahābhārata* statement that the great Battle took place at the junction of the Kali-Dvāpara ages by his finding. In chapter II of my work I have shown that *Kaliyuga* did come in the year 2454 B. C. on the Māgha full-moon day, only five years before the Battle year of 2449 B. C. His attempt is a total failure in all respects.

NOTE

Alberuni in his great work *Indika*, has said that the Yudhiṣṭhira era was current in India in his time under the name "Pāṇḍava Kāla". (*Vide*—Sachau's translation, Vol. II, the chapter on the Indian eras.)

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXAMPLES IN THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA

By Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

I

In grammatical literature, the examples given by exponents are as valuable and significant as the original Sūtras are. As a matter of fact a Sūtra is incomplete in itself and unless adequate annotation is supplied, the real import remains unintelligible. This annotation consists of some definite factors viz. उदाहरण illustration or example प्रत्युदाहरण (counter-illustration), and वाक्याध्याहार (supplying of what is wanting in a Sūtra).

The former exponents of the Pāṇinian system took much interest in disclosing the real significance of examples and counter-examples and thereby disclosed many hidden imports and principles which are not expressively given in the body of the Sūtras. The importance of these examples is decidedly proved by the fact that some Vārttikas are written with an implicit intention to consider one fixed example (where there is no such limitation in the Sūtra). Even if an example is not given for any rule, which should be given as a general procedure, this silence also bears some hidden purpose (as will be shown later on). Kaiyaṭa also showed the value of examples thus : 'एवं तर्हि स्पष्टोदाहरणसद्भावाद् भाष्यकारेण नैतत् सुष्ठु निरूपितम्[1], which shows that elaborate comment is possible only when there is an actual example in a given Sūtra.

It is a general feature of the style of the ancient exponents that they generally do not alter the verbal form of the examples given by their predecessors. There are some examples which are designated as मूर्धाभिषिक्त (*i.e.* they were

[1] 6.1.192.

given in all the Vṛttis)[2]. The value of these examples is so high and they are so much useful that in many places these examples (sometimes called चिरन्तनप्रयोगs) are reproduced in later works, though as a matter of fact in later times these examples had become obsolete and had lost their importance in the field of language. Thus Haradatta says 'अपचितपरिमाणः सृगालः किखी अप्रसिद्धोदाहरणं चिरन्तनप्रयोगात्.'[3] In one place Nāgeśa referred to the examples given in the *Saṁgraha* (a work by Vyādi) and judged their usefulness as under 'एवं च संग्रहादिषु तदुदाहरणदानमसंगतं स्यादितिभावः'[4] Again, he showed the unusefulness of the examples of the Vṛtti, in connection with the refutation of a Sūtra made by Patañjali. He said: 'इदं भाष्यं न प्रत्याख्यानपरं, किन्तु वृत्त्याद्युक्तोदाहरणेषु अन्यथासिद्धिप्रतिपादनपरम्'[5]. This statement also confirms that Patañjali's examples are given with some purpose. In the present paper we are going to essay and analyse the importance and significance of some of the examples in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Doctrines, propounded and accepted by Patañjali, are universally accepted by later grammarians, and his personal views are also deemed as possessing the highest authority. In the Pāṇinian order Patañjali's authority is reckoned as supreme, according to the maxim 'यथोत्तरं मुनीनां प्रामाण्यम्'. Oldest commentators like Kaiyaṭa had also trodden on the same path when he says 'मुनित्र्याच्च भाष्यकारः प्रमाणतरमधिकलक्ष्यदर्शित्वात्' [6]. Jinendrabuddhi seconded this tradition 'मुनित्र्यातिशायिनो भगवतो भाष्यकारस्य वचनं कथमुपेक्षिष्यामहे', and at present any view, which is not sanctioned by Patañjali, is deemed as futile and unauthoritative! As a result of this, many rules sanctioned by the *Kāsikā* (*e.g.* अङ्गगात्रकण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम्)[7] are deemed as non-authoritative.[8]

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[2] See *Pradīpa* on 1. 1. 57.
[3] *Padamañjarī* on 2. 1. 6. Vol. I p. 354.
[4] *Uddyota* on 4. 3. 39.
[5] *Uddyota* 6. 4. 163.
[6] *Pradīpa* 2. 4. 26.
[7] 4. 1. 54.
[8] भाष्यानुक्तत्वाच्चाप्रमाणमिति प्रामाणिकाः—*Siddhānta Kaumudī* on 4. 1. 55.

The examples in the *Mahābhāṣya* are deemed as having so high an authority in the field of verbal usage, that commentators sometimes showed the erroneous uses of many prominent scholars on its authority. Thus, Nāgeśa holds that the first aphorism of Gotama (प्रमाण-प्रमेय-सिद्धान्त. . . . .) is erroneous in the view of a grammarian.[9] Again, while commenting on the Sūtra 2.1.1, Nāgeśa has remarked किमोदन इत्यादयस्तु असामर्थ्येऽपि भाष्यकारवचनादेव साधवः इति. Moreover, there are many words, which are commonly not used by any authority, but on the authority of the *Mahābhāṣya* all such usages are deemed as absolutely correct (*Vide* the remark of Nāgeśa—जटशब्दोऽदन्तः पुंलिंगः धनपर्यायो जटा पर्यायो वा.[10] Not only words, but in some cases, the senses of words shown by Patañjali are not at all sanctioned by the lexicons. Patañjali said that वराठ means मृतभार्यः[11] but this sense is not found in any one of the lexicons. Similarly, Vāsudeva says वधुर चिरराटशब्दौ यौवनवाचिनौ भाष्यप्रामाण्यात्[12].

The present paper will show to what extent and in which manner the authority of Patañjali was accepted by later grammarians so far as the value of the examples is concerned, i.e., how many hidden imports were discovered by the exponents by analysing the character of the examples given by Patañjali. Here the importance is shown according to the view point of a grammarian and not that of a historian, though as a matter of fact examples in the *Bhāṣya* have equal value in about all the fields of human life. This dissertation, we believe, will enable the scholars to judge the examples from a grammatical point of view.

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[9] *Uddyota* 1. 2. 62.

[10] *Uddyota* 2. 1. 1.

[11] *Bh.* on 3. 3. 20.

[12] *Bālamanoramā*.

II

(A) In many places, the power of the function of a Sūtra is restricted by the character of the examples given by Patañjali. In such cases these examples clearly indicate what import was originally deemed by Pāṇini, though such an import was not indicated explicitly in the Sūtras. This is the highest power of examples and this also confirms the statement लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम्.[13]

As for example, Pāṇini says: 'आतो मनिन्क्वनिब्वनिपश्च'[14] which operates क्वनिप् in all आकारान्त dhātus. But the examples given in the *Bhāṣya* on 6.4.66 indicate that the suffix क्वनिप् is not to be operated after some of the आकारान्त dhātus like पा etc.[15]

Similarly, we find that Pāṇini had prohibited the षष्ठी-समास with the indeclinables (अव्यय). But the example (सर्वपश्चात्) on the Sūtra 2.2.24 shows that Patañjali sanctioned the षष्ठीसमास with the कृदव्ययs only[16] though such an intention is practically absent in the Sūtra. Again, on Sūtra 1. 2. 44 Nāgeśa said एकदेशिसमासविषयकमेव तद् भाष्ये तथोदाहरणात् (*Uddyota*) which shows that the example can limit the scope of a rule. In other words, the actual scope of a Sūtra can be comprehended through the help of examples.

(B) In some Sūtras the imports of terms (used by Pāṇini) are determined by the examples of Patañjali. Here the examples show the actual character of a term mentioned in the Sūtras, even though Pāṇini is silent about it. Though at present we are unable to judge whether such determination is valid or not, yet it can be said that commentators agreed to this unanimously:

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[13] *Mahābhāṣya* 1st Āhnika.

[14] 3. 2. 74.

[15] *Vide* the statement of the *Pradīpa*.

[16] *Vide Tattvabodhinī* on 2. 2. 24.

(1) In the Sūtra पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्[17] the import of the term पुंयोग is not clear at all and different commentators have given different views on its character. Nāgeśa asserted that the examples of Patañjali clearly indicate that here पुंयोग means conjugal relation (दाम्पत्यसम्बन्ध) and as such the usages like केकयी देवकी etc. are to be read in the गौरादिगण.[18]

(2) In the Sūtra आङ उद्गमने[19] the import of उद्गमन is not clear and different interpretations were given about its character. But the counter-example on this Sūtra (आक्रामति धूमो हर्म्यतलात्) indicates that here उद्गमन means उदय as is aptly remarked by Nāgeśa 'प्रत्युदाहरणभाष्ये हर्म्यतलादित्येव पाठः सांप्रदायिक इति भावः एव च उद्गमनमत्रोदय इति बोध्यम्'.

(3) Similarly, we find that examples of Patañjali have determined the import of the term प्रकृति in the Sūtra जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः.[20] The two examples गोमयाद् वृश्चिका जायन्ते and गोलोमाविलोमभ्यो दुर्वा जायन्ते assert that Patañjali took the term प्रकृति in the sense of material cause. Commentators rightly point out that in this case the example given in the *Kāśikā* (पुत्रात् प्रमोदो जायते) which interprets प्रकृति as हेतु, is untenable in view of Patañjali's words.

(C) There are some grammatical operations whose actual places (i.e. in which part of the word the operation should take place) are not mentioned by Pāṇini but the exmples given by Patañjali clearly indicate the place where they are to be applied. Take the operation of पुंवत् in a समास where the विग्रह is 'चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्य'. Pāṇini said nothing about the actual place of पुंवद्भाव i.e. there is no explicit statement whether पुंवत्त्व should take place in the first member of the compound or in the second member.

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17 4. 1. 48.

18 4. 1. 41.

19 1. 3. 40

20 1. 4. 30.

Here commentators have pointed out that पुंवत् should be operated in the second member as in the example (पट्वीमृदुभार्यः) of Patañjali, पुंवत् is found in the same member.

(D) Sometimes duplication of examples is found in the *Mahābhāṣya* and this duplication is deemed as quite significant. But such cases are rare. One capital example is, however, given here. While commenting on the Vārttika देवब्रम्हणोरनुदात्तत्वमेके [21], Patañjali repeated the example देवा ब्राह्मणाः twice, though this repetition apparently bears no value. Nāgeśa observed this peculiarity and pointed out the significance of the duplication as under : देवब्रह्मणोर्मध्ये ब्रह्मन्शब्दस्य अनेनानुदात्तत्वमेके वैयधिकरण्यवादिन इच्छन्ति। सामानाधिकरण्यपक्षे तु दे इत्येक एवोदात्तः। वैयधिकरण्यवादिनां तु दे इति ब्र इति च द्वयमुदात्तम्। इदमेव ध्वनयितुं द्विः पाठ उदाहरणस्येति बोध्यम्[22].

(E) Sometimes Patañjali gave an example from the language of Pāṇini himself and not from popular speech. On Sūtra आतो धातोः[23], Kātyāyana said आतोऽनापः and Patañjali gave the example as 'क्त्वः' quoting the Sūtra समासेऽनञ् पूर्वे क्त्वो ल्यप्[24]. Here the question arises as to why Patañjali did not give any example from the popular speech and only from the aphorisms of Pāṇini. Nāgeśa has replied that this denotes 'आकारान्तधातुप्रकृतिकातिरिक्तअकरान्तप्रातिपदिकाभाव इति'.

Now, this remark is quite justified because without such a hidden import, Patañjali could not give an example from the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*. For, usually the custom of the gram-

[21] 1. 2. 38.
[22] *Uddyota*.
[23] 6. 4. 140.
[24] 7. 1. 37.

marians is to give examples from the popular speech only.

(F) In some cases Patañjali gave more words than are needed for the proper examples. Thus, while giving an example of the statement 'उपसमस्तार्थमेके जसो ग्रहणमिच्छन्ति' (6. 1. 166) he has written अतितिस्रौ, अतितिस्रः. Here the actual example is अतितिस्रौ and not अतितिस्रः. As to why it is given Kaiyaṭa says, 'अतितिस्र इत्यत्र तु इष्यत एव जस उदात्तत्वम् इत्युदाहरणबलेन भाष्यकृतोपन्यस्तम्'.

Similarly, we find that Patañjali gave two examples as बहुतितवा, बहुतितवे while refuting the Vārttika हल्ग्रहणानर्थक्यं च समुदायादेशत्वात्.[25] Here the proper example is बहुतितवा and not बहुतितवे. As to why this was given, Nāgeśa has remarked 'बहुतितवेति प्रसंगोच्चारितं, तत्र हि घेर्ङिति इति गुणेन भवितव्यम्'.

There are many instances of this kind. Therefore, the question arises as to why unnecessary expressions were used along with the actual examples. The only intelligible answer is that these examples were present in the ancient Vṛttis, and Patañjali took them *verbatim*. Due to some unknown reasons these non-essential expressions were also attached with the actual examples and as the whole expression became current and familiar, Patañjali thought it better to take the whole expression without distinguishing the actual example from the mixed expression.

(G) There are some examples given by Patañjali, whose genders are also considered as significant by commentators, though in the cases in question, gender has nothing to do with the operation of the Sūtra for which the examples are given. These cases show that though gender has little value in the Sūtras (सूत्रे लिङ्गवचनमतन्त्रम्) yet

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[25] 6. 1. 174.

in some cases genders of the examples are significant so far as the operation of a rule is concerned.

In the examples of the Vārttika 'ओतोष्ठयोः समासे वा'[26] Patañjali said बिम्बोष्ठी though there was no occasion to use the word in the feminine gender. Kaiyaṭa observed this peculiarity and remarked that 'स्त्रियामुदाहरणं तत्रैव प्रयोगमभिप्रेत्येत्याहुः'.

Though this view is not accepted by all, yet the term आहुः denotes that some held this view as valid.

Similarly, we find that Patañjali gave two examples of the Vārttika तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि[27] as तैषम् and पौषः (one in neuter and another in masculine gender). Apparently it may be said that such a distinction bears no significance but in this particular case Nāgeśa pointed out the significance as under: नक्षत्रवाचकाद्योऽण् स सर्वोऽपि गृह्यते। अतएव तिष्ये पुष्ये च भवः तैषः पौष इत्यत्रापि लोपः। इदमेव ध्वनयता भगवता तैषं पौष इति लिङ्गभेदेनोदाहृतम्.[28]

(H) While giving examples of the Sūtra 6. 1. 68, Patañjali said शीर्षण्याः केशाः, शिरस्याः. Here a question arises as to why the word केश is used after the word शीर्षण्य and it is rejected after the word शिरस्य. Kaiyaṭa says that शिरस्याः means hairs whereas शीर्षण्याः means things born on the head and that this is the reason why the word केश is put after शीर्षण्य. This subtle distinction is not found even in the lexicons. Here the peculiar manner of putting the example denotes this distinction which also shows the importance of examples in the field of verbal usages.

Similarly while giving examples of the Vārttika-प्रतिषेधे हसादीनामुपसंख्यानम्[29] Patañjali said व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजल्पन्ति,

[26] 6. 1. 94.

[27] 6. 1. 149.

[28] *Uddyota* 6. 4. 149.

[29] 1. 3. 15.

व्यतिपठन्ति. Here the example व्यतिपठन्ति clearly indicates that the type of हसादि (i.e. हसि प्रकार) should possess the attribute of शब्दक्रियत्व i.e. हसादि group should contain the dhātus whose actions are शब्द.

Sometimes even an ordinary word is deemed to have been used in a particular sense according to the character of the examples given by Patañjali. In such cases, no reason is supplied by the commentators for such a limitation other than the power of examples. Thus we see that the word सुबन्त of the *Bhāṣya* on 5. 3. 72 is interpreted to mean the sense of युष्मत् and अस्मत् only (not घट, वृक्ष etc.) because Patañjali's examples of the word are derived from युष्मत् and अस्मत् (अत्र सुबन्तस्येति युष्मदस्मद् विषयकमेव . . . उदाहरणपरभाष्यप्रामाण्यात्—*Uddyota*). This also shows the power of examples on the determination of the meaning of words.

(I) In some cases Patañjali's examples are somewhat peculiar so far as their senses are concerned. Thus in the example (अन्तरा त्वां च मां च कमण्डलु:) of the Sūtra अन्तरान्तरेणयुक्ते[30], Patañjali used the word अन्तरा in the sense of मध्यमात्र and not in the sense of आधाररूपमध्य while the word is used in the popular speech in the sense of उद्भूताधारशक्तिकमध्य.

(J) We have seen that the presentation of examples is essential for the comprehension of Sūtras. Here we are putting an instance which would show that the absence of examples is as significant as the presence of examples is.

While showing the necessity of ह in the अट् प्रत्याहार, Patañjali presented the Sūtra शश्छोटि[31] but did not put any example. This is against the style of Patañjali. But this

[30] 2. 3. 4.
[31] 8. 4. 63.

silence is significant as the utterance of श after ह् is impossible and as such no example was given.[32]

Regarding the value of examples one question remains still to be determined. In many places Patañjali deliberately rejected the older examples of ancient grammarians. Such cases are very few in number but each of them deserves to be discussed through the view-point of Patañjali himself.[33] Our forthcoming paper will solve this problem.

[32] *Vide Pradīpa* on II Āhnika.

[33] The following remark of Kaiyaṭa may illustrate this point: वृत्तिकारैरेकवचनान्तानि उदाहरणानि उपन्यस्तानि, तत्र विशेषं सगिरो खुघ्वा पृच्छति... (*Pradīpa* on 7. 2. 73).

A SHORT NOTE ON HARṢA

By DEVA RAJ

THE purpose of this short note is to discuss some aspects of the life and times of Śrī Harṣa of Kanauja and to analyse some of the opinions expressed on them by our historians. It is also our intention to discuss the nature of the contemporary evidence that is available, since we feel that so far it has not been used objectively.

1. *Military Strength*

First of all we would like to take up the question of military strength of Harṣa's kingdom, since this point has not been adequately dealt with by scholars, nor has a serious attempt been made to examine the effect of the large military force on the resources of his state.

According to Yuan Chwang, Harṣa had 5,000 elephants, 2,000 cavalry and 5,000 foot-soldiers. After six years he had subdued the Five Indies. Having thus enlarged his territory, he increased his forces. He had 60,000 elephants (war) and 1,00,000 cavalry.[1]

Taking every elephant to carry four persons (three fighters and a mahout), we have 20,000 and 2,40,000 persons as the pre-conquest and the post-conquest figures for the elephant-corps respectively. (In this calculation we follow the method used by V. Smith in his *Early History of India*). With this correction the total number of fighters put in the field by Harṣa on the start of his campaigns and at the conclusion of the same comes to be 72,000 and 3,40,000 (3½ lakhs approximately) respectively—an increase in the proportion of 1 : 4. Now, in the second set of figures Yuan Chwang omits the infantry. This should not

[1] *Records* I—V.

be taken to mean that the '*Padātikaṁ*' was disbanded. In war the role of the foot-soldiers cannot be taken over by any other branch of the fighting forces, especially if the consolidation of victory is the aim. Therefore, it will not be far from wrong to suppose, not only that he did not disband his infantry but also that he expanded this branch as well (otherwise, it becomes difficult to keep a balance among the various wings of the army). On the supposition that he expanded his infantry four times, we should add another 1,50,000 to the post-conquest figure and that will raise the total to 4,90,000 (or 5 lakhs approximately). Therefore, the expansion was more than five times the original figure.

Although figures for the armed forces of the Gupta emperors are not available to us, they could not have had an army smaller in numbers than that maintained by the Mauryas, since both ruled over a very large part of the country.

Going back farther in time we find that the Greek writers (basing their remark on those who had travelled with Alexander the Great and on Megasthenes) have given figures for the armies of the Nanda Kings and that of Chandragupta Maurya. The last Nanda King is reported to have had an army consisting of:

Infantry	2,00,000	Chariots	8,000
Cavalry	80,000	Elephants	6,000[2]

Chandragupta Maurya is stated to have expanded his army as follows:

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[2] Plutarch as translated by Mcrindle in *Invasion*, p. 310. Curtius Rufus gives the following figures:

Infantry	2,00,000	Chariots	2,000
Cavalry	2,000	Elephants	3,000

(Mcrindle, *ibid*, p. 222)

Diodorus Siculus differs from Rufus only in respect of the figures for the elephant-corps, he gives the figures as 4,000 (instead of 3,000) (Mcrindle, *ibid*, p. 282)

Infantry 6,00,000 Cavalry 30,000
Elephants 9,000[3]

(The number of chariots is not mentioned presumably because of the poor showing they made against the cavalry of Alexander on the Jhelum—they might have fallen into disrepute.)

Calculating the number of persons (for elephants, we again take the number to be four per elephant), we get a figure of 6,64,000 (over 6½ lakhs approximately). This vast army must have been kept at this strength, if not expanded, even by Aśoka (at least till the time of the Kalinga War). Therefore, as a consequence of the huge additions to the territory controlled by the Mauryas, they kept a very big army.

However, a comparison of these armies with the army of Harṣa brings out some interesting facts. The proportion between the two armies (5 lakhs and 6½ lakhs respectively) is roughly of 1 : 1.3 only. Hence from the point of view of numbers the army of Harṣa was only 30% less than that of the Mauryas. We will now compare the extents of their respective territories. Aśoka ruled over the entire country from the Hindukush in North-West to as far South as 14 degree latitude. (Leaving out the Southern tradition of the invasion of the South by the Mauryas). Harṣa's kingdom "comprised practically of the whole of the U. P. and a large part of Bihar and Bengal (except Karṇa-Suvarṇa), Orissa and such parts of the Panjab, Rajputana, Central and Western India for which Yuan Chwang does not mention other rulers".[4]

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[3] Pliny as quoted by K.A.N. Shastri in *Nandas and Mauryas*, Banaras, 1952, p. 188. Plutarch as translated by Mcrindle in *Invasion* merely states that Chandragupta Maurya had 6,00,000 foot-soldiers (p. 310).

[4] *Harsha* by R. K. Mookerjee, p. 42-3. "We may roughly define the Kanauja kingdom of Harṣa in modern geographical terminology as consisting of portions of the East Panjab, almost the whole of the U.P. (excluding Mathura and Matipur), Bihar, Bengal and Orissa including Kongyodha or the Ganjam region". *History of Kanauj* by R.S. Tripathi p. 118.

This Aśokan empire had an area of 15,54,000 sq. miles (approximately). The territory controlled by Harṣa was only 4,44,100 sq. miles. This gives us a proportion of 3½ to 1. Hence whereas the ratio between the two armies was merely of 1 to 1.3, the ratio between the two territories works out at 1 to 3½.[5]

Hence the conclusion is inescapable that the army of Harṣa was definitely out of proportion to the size of the territory controlled by him. This disproportion becomes all the more noticeable when we find that the country was not as prosperous as before.[6]

Harṣa maintained this large army at a time when the means to fill his treasury were much too slender in comparison with the times of the Guptas and the Mauryas.

2. *Sources of Revenue*

This can be seen from an examination of the economic resources at the command of the Mauryan emperors and Harṣa respectively. The evidence is taken from the

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[5] For calculating the areas we have made use of the map given in *Harsha* by R. K. Mookerjee. For the territory of Aśoka, the same map has been used, the area of the entire country as far as 14 degree lat., being measured.

[6] It is interesting to note that K. M. Panikkar omits the last line from the statement of Yuan Chwang and on the basis of only the pre-conquest figures of the army of Harṣa, comments as follows: "The reasonable thing about Harṣa's military establishment is its comparative smallnes" and further, "It speaks much for the pacific character of Harsha and the effectiveness of his government that the army he maintained was so small comparatively." *Shri Harsha* by K.M. Panikkar, pp. 33-4

R. K. Mookerjee quotes Yuan Chwang in full (regarding the military strength) but has made certain remarks which deserve notice. They are as follows: "Harsha placed his army *on a peace-footing by making it overwhelmingly large and strong* against the aggressive designs of the states subdued." *Op. cit.*, p. 34. (Italics mine.) That an army is put on a peace-footing by being expanding is a self-contradictory statement. Then again, in the opinion of Dr. Mookerjee, enslaved people have no right to fight for their freedom—since all such attempts are attempts at aggression.

Arthaśāstra (for the Mauryas) and Yuan Chwang (for Harṣa) respectively. It can be examined under three heads, viz., (a) *Mining*; (b) *Overseas Trade*; and (c) *Inland Trade*. These were the chief sources of revenue besides agriculture. We assume that there was not much progress in the productivity of agriculture during this interval. Hence the income from this source can be taken to remain unchanged. Kauṭilya prescribes detailed regulations for all these sources of revenue.

(*i*) *Mining*

We will take up mining first. Chapter 33 of the *Arthaśāstra* is exclusively devoted to the organisation of the work of mines. The last verse sums up the importance of mines as given below:

आकरप्रभवः कोशः, कोशाद्दंडः प्रजायते ।
पृथ्वी कोशदंडाभ्याम्प्राप्यते कोशभूषणा ॥[7]

According to Kauṭilya, most of these products were mined in abundance only in the South.

कम्बलाविनाश्वपण्यवर्जाः शंखवज्रमणिमुक्ताः सुवर्णपण्याश्च प्रभूततराः दक्षिणापथे ॥[8]

According to Yuan Chwang the areas mentioned below were noted for minerals:

1. Udyana .. gold and iron.[9]
2. Bolor .. gold and silver.[10]
3. Takka .. gold and silver etc.[11]
4. Kuluta .. gold, silver and copper.[12]

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[7] Jolly's ed., Lahore. ('Mines are the source of treasury; from treasury comes the power of government; and the Earth whose ornament is treasury is acquired by means of treasury and army.' Shamashastry's translation, p. 89).

[8] *Ibid*, Adhyāya 110. 'With the exception of blankets, skins and horses, other articles such as conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and gold are available in plenty in the South' *Op. cit.*, p. 328).

[9] Bk. 1-120 *Records*.

[10] Bk. 1-135 "

[11] Bk. 1-165 "

[12] Bk. 1-177 "

5. Sutudru .. gold, silver.[13]
6. Draviḍa .. gems.[14]
7. Sindh .. gold, silver and native copper.[15]
8. Ceylon .. gems.[16]

Of these areas Nos. 1-5 and 7 were under the control of the Mauryan emperors and hence their wealth was at their command. As regards Draviḍa and Ceylon they could not have been very independent *vis-a-vis* the great emperors. Moreover, we have the Southern tradition of the Mauryas invading that area.[17] Thus the Mauryas were able to utilize mining as a source of revenue.

But Harṣa did not control even the Deccan and during at least the lifetime of Śaśāṅka, Ganjam, through which another route to the South passed, was not under his control. Therefore, the precious minerals of this rich region could not have been received as tribute. As regards the areas of the N.W. and Sind, they still produced these minerals even in the 7th century, but these areas again were outside the kingdom of Kanauj.

(*ii*) *Overseas Trade*

As regards overseas trade, we know that in the time of the Mauryas (at-least Aśoka), Northern India had regular commercial intercourse with the Far East and Ceylon. Ships used to ply between Tamralipti and ports of these countries. But when Yuan Chwang seeks advice as regards the voyage to Ceylon, he is advised against embarking

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13 Bk. 1-177 *Records.*

14 Bk. 2-229 ,,

15 Bk. 2-272 ,,

16 Bk. 2-236 ,,

17 "Two or three poets of the Sangama make rather enigmatical references to the invasion of the South by the Moriyas (Mauryas).—All the three agree that in the course of the invasion, the Mauryas cut for their chariots a new path across some rocky mountain." (*The Cholas* by K. N. Shastri, Vol. 1, p. 26).

at Tamralipti. Here is the version as found in his *Life*.[18]

" ......he enquired of a priest of South India, who in consultation, told him as follows:

" Those who go to the Siṁhala country ought not to go by the sea-route, during which they will have to encounter the dangers of bad weather (winds), the Yakhahas and the rolling waves; you ought to go from the South-East point of South India, from which it is a three days' voyage. For, although in travelling you may have to scale mountains and pass through valleys, yet you are safe."

Thus, within a short period, (for in the Gupta Age sea-voyages continued to be safe and popular), a voyage even to Ceylon is no longer considered safe and the route is said to be infested by the 'Yakṣas'. Therefore at least this much is certain that the Northern part of our country could not have derived as much advantage from overseas trade as it used to do earlier.[19]

Therefore, we are not likely to err if we infer that the kingdom of Kanauj in the time of Harṣa did not have much profitable intercourse with the outside world.

(*iii*) *Inland Trade*

Since the country was divided politically into several kingdoms, it is also clear that no king could derive unhindered the benefits of an extensive inland trade (as was the case during the imperial rule of the Mauryas and the Guptas). Now, goods had to pass many borders and pay all sorts of duties and this must have hampered trade a great deal.[20]

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[18] Bk. 4 p. 133.

[19] It is not our view that the overseas trade of the entire country had declined. The Javanese chronicles speak of the mass-emigration of 7,000 families from the west coast port of Bharukachha. (See *Harsha* by R. K. Mookerjee p. 182). South India also maintained its trade and cultural relations with overseas territories during this period. (See *Origin and Spread of the Tamils* by V. R. R. Dikshitar, pp. 34-6).

[20] One curious fact which tends to confirm this view is the absence of the description of the rich Seṭṭhis who are so very prominent in the earlier folk-tales (The *Jātakas*). The *Pañcatantraṁ* (the collection of folk-tales in use in the Seventh Century) does not mention any

So with a treasury strained to the utmost by constant warfare and a huge army (out of proportion to the capacity of the area controlled), Harṣa must have found it very difficult to balance his budget without heavy taxes. These would have weighed most heavily on the rural population as there was no other major class of people capable of bearing the burden of the taxes. This taxation gave rise to discontent which can be discerned even in the descriptions left to us by Bāṇa. The following passages are taken from the description of the march of Harṣa's host against Śaśāṅka :

The army as it marched crushed under its feet the wretched hamlets of the poor people. This is clear from the passage given below :—

"संघट्टविघट्टमानव्याघ्रपल्लीपलायमानक्षुद्रकुटुम्बके"

(" The wretched householders were running away from their tiny hamlets, crushed by the (army) crowd.")

The soldiers were not well-behaved and tended to plunder :

"दासक, द्राग्दात्रेण लुनीहि माषीपादमुतोमुखघासपूलकम्"

(" Slave, be quick, with a sickle out a mouthful of fodder from this beanfield.")

"अपरैर्लूयमाननिष्पन्नसस्यप्रकटितविषादैः—प्रारब्धनरनाथनिन्दम्" ।

("Others began to censure the king, expressing their sorrow at the plunder of their grain.")

The significance of these passages is all the greater, coming as they do from a protegee of the king himself.[21]

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rich 'Śreṣṭhinaḥ', nor is the general picture of the country presented in the *Pañcatantram* as good as is the one painted in the *Jātakas*.

The *Kādambarī*, the best work of the Seventh Century which mirrors the general conditions of the country very well, does not mention any commercial houses at all. It has kings and their feudatories, it has many types of religious mendicants, but there is very little of the rich citizens.

[21] Contemporaneously with Harṣa there were other powerful kings in the country (Northern India) at that time. Prominent among these

3. *His Policy*

In addition to maintaining a huge army, Harṣa made matters worse by indulging in excessive charities. That these were by no means in keeping with the resources at his command can be observed from the fact that he fed 1,500 Bhikkhus and Brahmins everyday. (The feeding of such numbers, even on '*Khichri*' means a pretty penny.) On the top of it, he was maintaining big monasteries throughout the length and breadth of his realm. Then again the king himself was not a puritan, he lived well with all the pomp and show befitting an emperor.[22]

We have already seen that against these heads of expenditure, Harṣa could have had only one main source of income, that of tax on agriculture. This must have been a heavy burden for the peasantry—too heavy to be cheerfully met.

His predilection for Buddhism and his perfunctory treatment of the Brāhmaṇas, the भूसुराः (gods on Earth) hurt the religious susceptibilities of the masses of the people and made him an unpopular ruler. Regarding his predilection for Buddhism, no evidence need be offered. As regards his unbecoming treatment of the Brahmins, we cite a few points:

(a) Feeding of only 500 Brāhmaṇas as against 1,000 Śramaṇas.

(b) Capital punishment to the chief conspirator, who if not a Brāhmaṇa, was instigated by them.

(c) Banishment of 500 Brāhmaṇas, something unparalleled in our country.

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were the kings of Kashmir, Karṇasuvarṇa, Kāmarūpa, a number of N.-W. kingdoms, Sindh, Gujrat, Valabhī and Orissa. All these states must have maintained large armies to safeguard their frontiers. Even if we assume that their overall military strength did not exceed the total number of soldiers kept in the field by Harṣa, we find that the North at that time had upwards of a million people under arms—a huge figure indeed!

[22] See *Harṣacaritaṁ*—where Bāṇa describes the splendour of the court.

Harṣa also hurt the religious susceptibilities of the common people. At Prayāga, the holy of holies, he made Hindu gods, Indra and Brahmā attend upon the image of the Buddha. The preference accorded to the Buddhist monks in giving charity (over the Brāhmaṇas) was another sore point. Then again, he extended State support to Buddhist Vihāras, which had become by his time cess-pools of degeneration and decay. This must have aroused deep resentment among the people since they have never countenanced degeneracy in morals.

It was in this context that the Brāhmaṇas must have stepped in to challenge the king himself. The economic hardship to the people and the affront to their religious feeling must have been used by the Brāhmaṇas to the disadvantage of the king.

4. *His Military Campaigns*

Viewed in this light his campaigns against the Pulikesin and Śaśāṅka assume a different aspect. These kings, in contrast with Harṣa were ruling over a people who had no grouse against their rulers on grounds of religion. The ideological leaders of these people, the Brāhmaṇas fully backed these kings and were satisfied with their rule. In the case of Pulikesin it can be said with certainty that he had access to profits from overseas trade and pearl fisheries etc., in addition to the steady revenue available from agriculture. This must have been a very powerful factor in his success against Harṣa.

(a) *Against Śaśāṅka*

In their treatment of the campaign of Harṣa against Śaśāṅka the king of Karṇasuvarṇa is painted as a rebel, as one who was ill-advised in resisting the claims of paramountcy put forward by Harṣa. The impression is sought to be created that Harṣa was doing the right thing in trying to weld the entire country together. But if justice was so

much on the side of Harṣa why did he not succeed against a king, whose territory was excellent ground for warfare without hills and deep forests. The territory of Karṇa-suvarṇa offers no natural obstacles to a well-equipped army (and Harṣa's army was not a bad one). The reason for the stubbornness of the war seems to be the strength Śaśāṅka derived from the unstinted support of his people. This can be a real solid factor, which could have helped him to oppose such a mighty king for such a long time. (These were the times when people living in various provinces had started thinking in terms of their own regions. One proof whereof is the growth of literature in the provincial languages in this period. Thus the history of Bengali literature is traced to the time of Śaśāṅka.[23] Similarly the scholars of Hindi trace the origin of their literature to the Seventh Century.)[24]

It is also significant that Śaśāṅka was a Śaivite (in opposition to the Buddhist leanings of Harṣa) and we find him uprooting the Bodhi tree and destroying the foot-prints of the Buddha (surely, acts of vandalism). But this makes it clear that his opposition to Harṣa was on all planes, including that of ideology. Against the decadent and corrupt ideology of Mahāyāna Buddhism (a far cry indeed from the message of the Buddha himself) in whose fold all sorts of corrupt practices and moral perversions flourished under the garb of Vajrayāna, and whose temples were used to fleece our innocent and guileless people, by means of en-gineered miracles, Śaśāṅka pitted the cult of Śiva-Bhakti, worship of the Lord of Destruction, the destroyer of all that is evil and corrupt.

It is, therefore, essential that the entire campaign of Harṣa be examined in the light of its being an attempt

[23] See *Sāhitya Pragati* by B. N. Dutta, p. 17.

[24] According to Miśra-Bandhu, the origin of Hindi goes to about 700 A. D.—*Hindi Sahitya-kā-Ālochanātmaka Itihāsa* by Dr. R. K. Varma, p. 66.

to enslave people, just then becoming conscious of their separate provincial existence and in need of immediate protection which could not be afforded by a government, run from a far-away centre in Kanauj. Since the populace might have been unwilling to owe allegiance to a far-flung empire, such a regime could not last very long and could not be firm at all. It must have been a 'house of cards' from the very beginning. Hence although the Hindu system of administration with its full-fledged arrangements of a bureaucracy and other paraphernalia continued till the Vijayanagara State, the empire of Harṣa was the last Hindu Empire to survive.[25]

That his efforts were opposed by the peoples of other regions need not be demonstrated any further, but surprisingly there are facts which go to show that his campaigns did not inspire much enthusiasm even among his own feudatories. We have on this point a quotation from *Harṣacaritam*. Bāṇa makes a few of his characters say:

"इयमेका कथञ्चिद्दंडयात्रा यातु। यातु पातालतलं तृष्णा। भूतेरभवनिर्भवतु। —स्वस्ति सर्वदुःखकूटाय कटकाय॥'

"Let this expedition somehow pass. May greed go to the bottom of the nether regions. May wealth be destroyed for good. May God do good to the army, the root of all trouble".

That all was not well with the kingdom is strikingly made clear by a dream that Yuan Chwang is said to have had at Nālandā. In a dream Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva told Yuan Chwang as follows:

"You should return soon, for after ten years Śīlādityarāja will be dead and India be laid waste and in rebellion."[26]

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[25] The stock explanation for the fall of his kingdom is as follows: "The withdrawal of his strong arm let loose all the pent-up forces of anarchy and the result was that the mighty fabric of the empire reared by the genius of Harṣa soon collapsed......" (*History of Kanauj* by R. S. Tripathi, p. 88).

[26] *Life*, Bk. IV.

Hwui Li adds that the dream did come true. Having bled the peasant white for his military campaigns and for his insensate acts of charity, Harṣa left a trail of famine and desolation behind him. Little wonder that his empire collapsed, soon after.

5. *Nature of Contemporary Evidence*

While analysing the evidence given in contemporary works the general tendency has been to accept almost every statement at its face value and to pass judgement accordingly. For instance, Yuan Chwang says that "the people are well off and contented."[27] This and many other statements of Yuan Chwang are repeated without any check and the impression is sought to be created that they are the reactions of an objective mind. But Yuan Chwang's statements are relative statements. A perusal of the *Life of Yuan Chwang* by Hwui Li shows that the Chinese traveller had been very much affected by the conditions of the times in which he had spent his life in China. There had been anarchy and disorder in his country for many years. A few years before his birth the decay had been evident and his father "anticipating the decay and fall of the Sui dynasty buried himself in the study of his books." In the childhood of Yuan Chwang "the Sui dynasty lost the empire and the whole kingdom was in confusion. The capital became a rendevouz for robbers and the Ho and Lo (a district in China—*author's note*) a resort of wild beasts. The magistrates were destroyed and the body of priests perished or took to flight. The streets were filled with bleached bones and the burnt ruins of buildings" and so on.[28] His adolescence was spent in equally bad times. Thus we learn that in "the last year of the reign of the emperor

(a) Nature of Yuan Chwang's testimony.

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[27] *Records*, 1/v.
[28] *Life*, pp. 4-5.

Yang Li (*A. D.* 618) the country being in confusion, the necessaries of life began to fall"[29]. Thus he suffered from the ill-effects of scarcity during this period.

Further on we find that after a lapse of two or three years " the empire was visited with famines and riot "[30]. Thus the first twenty years of the life of this extremely intelligent and sensitive mind were spent in the midst of constant suffering, which must have deeply affected him. This strengthened his belief in Buddhism all the more. But the socio-political upheavel of his mother-land had so restricted the rights of the individual " that there was an imperial rescript forbidding (the project of going abroad)"[31].

And so at the age of 26 years, Yuan Chwang secretly embarks on his projects risking his very life in the process. There is no gainsaying the fact that he could at no time forget his own land and the conditions prevailing there and all that he saw and observed in India was always compared with conditions at home.

In contrast to his country he found Indians to be a contented lot and very well-off. There were no riots during his presence. There was no famine, the land was well cultivated and the produce was plentiful. In China for the election of only 14 priests, " several hundred applicants " had turned up.[32] Whereas here he saw single monasteries housing thousands upon thousands of monks[33]. Little wonder, therefore, that he is all praise for not only our excellent people but also for the king who ruled over them.

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[29] *Life*, p. 5.

[30] *Life*, p. 6.

[31] *Life*, p. 10.

[32] *Life*, p. 3.

[33] R. K. Mookerjee in his book *Harsha* has estimated that Yuan Chwang had passed through monasteries housing at least 212 thousand monks.

Hence, it is clear that instead of simply paraphrasing the testimony of Yuan Chwang, we should compare his regime with those of other kings and thus base ourselves on more reliable data.

(b) A comparative study of *Records* and *Life*.

We should also make a comparative study of the *Records* and the *Life*. This is essential as they contradict each other at times and it is essential that we decide the question of the relative authenticity of the two. For instance, R. S. Tripathi[34] notes that the account of the debate with the heretics is not the same in the two books. In one it is stated that the assembly passed off more or less peacefully[35]. In the records of Yuan Chwang, however, we have details of an attack on the king's life and the debate ending without arriving at any results.[36] Then again, with regard to the accounts of the *Mahāmokṣa Pariṣad*, the two accounts differ. According to the *Records*[37] after the king had given away everything in charity, he exclaimed with joy, "Well done, now all that I have has entered into incorruptible and imperishable treasuries". The next paragraph runs as follows: "After this, the rulers of the different countries offer their jewels and robes to the king so that his treasury is replenished". Now according to this statement, the character of his charity after all is not as glorious as might appear if we omit this second paragraph. However, the account in the *Life* is different. For according to Hwui Li, the king would give away in charity even these gems and other precious things. This is in opposition to the statement found in the *Records*.

We now take up the evidence left for us by Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa. This evidence is extremely valuable, being an eye-

[34] See his *History of Kanauj*, p. 155.

[35] *Life*, p. 180.

[36] *Records*, 1–v.

[37] 1–v.

witness account of persons and events by one who is not a foreigner and is thoroughly conversant with the life of our people. But he is a protegee of the king and therefore, it will be unfair to expect an impartial account from him. Hence his statements should always be accepted after a careful check-up. But to our regret most of the historians on Harṣa join the court-poet in showering bouquets of praise on the king. Some, in their enthusiasm are carried away so far as to go even a step farther than Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa himself. The concluding words in R. K. Mookerjee's *Harsha* are a case in point.

(c) Evidence of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa.

If we are to believe Mookerjee, Harṣa was the epitome of all virtues, most 'just and benevolent' etc. But this view is not supported by all the facts available. Such a statement cannot be easily reconciled with the threat implicit in his order to the king of Kāmarūpa, asking him to send the strange Śramaṇa to his court.[38] The use of force resorted to by him for getting the sacred tooth-relic from the king of Kashmir squares ill with his professed love of non-violence[39].

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[38] *Life*, Bk. V.

[39] Incidentally we may mention that most of our historians have suppressed the entire episode regarding the manner in which the king of Kāmarūpa enforced his invitation on Yuan Chwang. The facts are as follows: At the time of the receipt of the royal message, asking for the company of Yuan Chwang at his court, the latter had already made preparations for his return journey. He had been here for a number of years and although pressed to stay on, he had decided to go back considering it his duty to be back in his country. So the invitation was declined. When it was declined a second time, the Kumara sent a personal message asking for the Chinese traveller, saying that "if necessary then I will equip my army and elephants and like the clouds sweep down on and trample to the very dust that monastery of Nalanda. These words (are true) as the Sun" (*Life*, Bk. V).

THE PROBLEM OF PERSONALITY IN AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE

By P. S. Sastri

Jagannātha in his *Rasagaṅgādhara* makes the profound observation that Rasa is no other than "*bhagnāvaraṇā cit*"[1]. Rasa is that consciousness which has transcended the limitations of time, space and causality. It is taken to be the impersonal, objective and universal consciousness. But his predecessor Abhinavagupta does not seem to allow such a pure impersonal consciousness as the content of art; for, according to him Rasa can be only determinate consciousness. However, in his *Abhinavabhāratī*, he makes the pregnant suggestion that Rasa is beyond space, time and personality:

"*Deśa Kāla pramātṛ bheda aniyantrito rasaḥ*"[2].

Ever since Abhinavagupta's enunciation of the content of great art as highly impersonal, objective and universal, the latter day Aestheticians have wisely ignored the concept of personality in aesthetic experience. But they have not tried to show conclusively why we should not look for the personality of the artist in his work. It is only Jagannātha who tried to work out the implications of the concept of Impersonality by equating it with a system of Reality.

The problem of personality involves questions of a physiological and biological, psychological and sociological, nature. Those who advocate the idea that we have to look for the poet first, do not seem to think of it in this setting. Further, the question ultimately leads us to an examination of it from the philosophical and religious standpoints; for Beauty, which belongs to the realm of Fine Art, is on

[1] P. 27.

[2] *Abhinavabhāratī*, I. 292.

a par with Truth and Goodness, the other two universal forces. All these three belong to the realm of the higher experiences. Despite all this complexity this problem of Personality has been resurrected by the literary critics in recent times. They contend that the Personality of the artist is to be found in his work, though they do not seem to know what actually the concept of personality means and involves.

I

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines personality as "that quality or assemblage of qualities which makes a person what he is as distinct from other persons distinctive personal or individual character especially of a marked kind". That is, personality is the total quality of behaviour which distinguishes one individual from another. It is the significant trait running through all the activities of the individual. It is also the trait that differentiates one individual from another.

The physique and the temperament are factors in personality. Temperament is intelligible only as behaviour, only in terms of conscious activity, in a society. As the environment is anything but consistent, we cannot expect consistency in the reactions of the individual. That is personality is a fluid phenomenon. Something must always happen to it. Some transformation must take place. What is this transformation? Does personality change? If so, how?

To escape these troubles, the biologists would like to speak of personality as a relatively permanent structural characteristic of the individual. Ribot defines personality in terms of energy, strength, health, good looks and the like.[3] This means that even animals may have personality. But we cannot say when an organism can have personality.

[3] *The Diseases of Personality*, 156-66.

Moreover, if personality were to depend on the physiological structure, it will be determined and conditioned by all types of oddities, whereas the popular mind accepts personality as a conscious force.

II

Many psychologists would like to define personality in terms of psychic factors. An individual is a complex of experiences and responses, and a personality, therefore, is a system or a number of systems of experience and of corresponding responses.[4] At the perceptual level, the body and the self are divided by a thin boundary line drawn at the surface of the skin. With the emergence of the train of ideas, the self or perceptual consciousness gets enlarged. Memory and anticipation are developed and related to the present. At the same time there is an awareness of the self as including the processes of attending, feeling and willing, ideas and things. As Robert Browning observes :

"What Does, what Knows, what Is : three souls, one man "[5].

This development is significant in a threefold way. In the first place we begin to postulate the unity and continuity of the self. Next, we dissociate our personality from our body, from the physiological factor, since we come to think of a disembodied soul. Finally, by accepting attending, feeling and willing, we are bringing ourselves into close contact with society.

Every moment in our conscious life involves some transition, change ; and change, as Kant said, implies persistence. But, sometimes the change may be so profound that no continuity, no unity, can be recognised. Wordsworth speaks of the child as the father of man. But

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4 See E. S. Conklin : *Principles of Abnormal Psychology*, p. 179.

5 "A Death in the Desert".

in describing his early life in the *Prelude*, Wordsworth himself was aware of the absence of complete identity between the child and the man. " So wide ", he says, " appears

The vacancy between me and those days
Which yet have such self presence in my mind,
That, musing on them, often do I seem
Two consciousnesses, conscious of myself
And of some other being."

A similar tale is echoed in his lines over the Tintern Abbey.

If personality were to be a fact, it must be the development of one's own qualities, the qualities which one cannot share with others. But the things which we cannot share with others are those that we are ashamed to own. The pleasure principle of Freud and the natural man of Hobbes justify this argument. If personality is no more than this, viz., a marked development of individual differences, then the individual would be, what Goethe calls, "*ein Naar auf eigener Hand*". All the higher values would be absent. We find that

" Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how mean a thing is man ".

Some individuals do value specially their own personal existence. But they would hardly wish for the persistence of every particular aspect of it. For instance, the child does not desire to continue as a child, but to become a man. This involves a considerable change in personality. Such changes take place because the individual believes that his present will be comprehended and contained in his future. The very idea of progress involves a knowledge of the limitations and imperfections of the present self. "The very development of an individual's life is a continual losing of what he was for the sake of what he hopes to be "[6]. In this we get rid of some of our qualities and

[6] J. S. Mackenzie : *Elements of Constructive Philosophy*, p. 341.

acquire new ones. It is an increasing activity and, therefore, to speak of a personality in terms of a permanent self, is a violation of the fundamentals of psychology and of human behaviour.

A complete education can profoundly alter our outlook and life. A new scientific discovery like that of Einstein has changed our ideas a good deal regarding our place in the universe. A sudden flash of an idea made Gautama the Buddha. A great national crisis alters our thought and activity. A new vision of Beauty can change, the growth of an individual and of a nation as can be seen from the contribution of Winckelmann to Germany, and from the Elgin marbles. Similarly religious conversion puts an end to the former self. The changes from childhood to youth, and from youth to old age do involve great changes in our modes of valuation and choice. That is, the point of view of an individual self is not a fixed standpoint. This point of view varies as our valuation of what is good varies. In other words, our standpoint depends upon the relation we establish between our subjective interests and the objective order. That is why when we judge the work of a poet, we have to see how far the poet has achieved a harmony between the subjective and the objective orders. We have to notice his appreciation of values and the extent to which he is guided by such appreciation. To put it the other way, we have to consider whether the poet has grasped and realised the spirit of his society, the spirit of his culture.

Our individual self, therefore, is only a "finite centre of experience", aiming at a permanent self. In the words of Green, we strive after "an abiding satisfaction of an abiding self"[7]. We long for the future because of our present imperfections and limitations. Our present, so we think, will be comprehended and contained, and

[7] *Prolegomena to Ethics.*

therefore, transformed in our future self. The future is more comprehensive and it is such a state we assure ourselves, that will help us develop true individuality. This true Individuality is the Concrete Universal. Hence from the psychological standpoint too, personality is self-contradictory; for personality implies a permanent self of the individual, whereas we strive after the realization of such a permanence. Once, such a permanent self is realized, we do not have any personality, for we are de-personalised.

III

We depend on intercourse with others for thinking effectively and for adjusting our actions to physical conditions. The adaptation to the social environment determines our growth. The self of the individual interacts with all developed human self-consciousness. So the idea of a self or a person involves the thought of the manifold and complex relations to other selves. Many of our qualities thus come from the interaction of the selves in a society. So, in a sense, we live in others and others live in us. As we proceed in our journey of life, we begin to assimilate more and more of others around us. As these relations to the environment vary, so will the self change.[8]

Personality cannot be defined in terms of exclusiveness in the physical, emotional and intellectual levels. The language of the conventional signs in undeveloped societies shows that physically too, the individuals feel a sort of unity. That apart, the senses bring us together. There is an emotional unity between the individuals in a society because of their mutual responsiveness, morale, and collective enthusiasm. A common body of meanings and a common system of logical reasoning presuppose an intellectual unity. Co-operation and mutual aid speak of an actional unity too.

[8] See Baldwin : *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Dev:lopment*, pp. 10-11.

A person is an individual belonging to a society. He has a status or position in society, which is determined by his relation to every other member of that group. The adaptation to this group or society and the striving after the ideal of such a society necessarily bring forth the enlargement of the self and the identification of the personal self with the social self. This enlargement or identification demands the purging away of one's own traits in the interests of a larger whole and is called Impersonality or Individuality. That is, society makes true Individuality or Impersonality possible. The more the society is advanced, the more does it admit of such an Impersonality. Society demands it. Hence true progress lies in the realization of our social ideals.

An individual is a member of many social organisms like the family, the community, religion, profession, nation and humanity. He has to act in such a way that he does not come into conflict with the organism or organisms to which he belongs. That is, he has to evaluate these organisms properly and bring about a harmony of the various ideals of the various societies to which he belongs. He cannot escape from being a social individual. The spirit of the age and of his country has to govern his existence. In other words the individual is social largely because of his cultural milieu. It is the cultural milieu that distinguishes an oriental from an occidental. Hence it is that the Samoan girl does not object to appear naked in public, while there are many ladies elsewhere who do not show even their faces in public. Even the games differ from one cultural unit to another. And that is why an orthodox Hindu will swear by his *Vedas*, while the pious Christian will bring in his *Bible* as the Muslim comes with his *Koran*. By such sharing in the social heritage one is humanised; without it, he would not differ from the lower animals. Participation in the culture endows one with true Individuality or

Impersonality. Our habits and prejudices, and our standards of modesty and of morality, are largely the results of our cultural milieu.

Mr. T. S. Eliot, therefore, is justified in contrasting tradition with personality[9]. Tradition is the culture of the society in which we live. The submission to a tradition is only the submerging of the personal self to the social, to the self of humanity. While personality is determined by the Pleasure-principle, the self of society or of humanity is determined by the Reality-principle. The true poet has to transcend his personality and apprehend at least the self of his society. If he can transcend that too, he can produce world-literature which alone was valued by Goethe as the best.

IV

The essence of human consciousness is to be universal in its outlook, for the tendency of experience is to be universal. It carries us beyond the given. It reveals a character which throws light upon further and different contexts. It receives light from them[10]. And as Spinoza urged, the highest good for human beings is one that is common to all and one which all may equally enjoy. The great founders of Religion like the Christ and the Buddha represent rather the perfection which humanity aims than a special form of personality. The conception of the Trinity transcends personality. Plato mixes up the personality of Socrates with his own. We cannot disentangle them; for Socrates strove after that perfection in which Plato participated. Such an Impersonality or universality has been the distinctive achievement of the great authors, thinkers and saints. Hence it is that Comte declared that the individual is an abstraction and humanity as a

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[9] *Selected Essays.*

[10] Cf. B. Bosanquet: *Principle of Individuality*, p. 31. See also his *Logic.*

whole is the only complete reality. The recognition of a universal brotherhood is in the direction of a super-personal unity.

The great men, who have achieved true Individuality or Impersonality, seem more to be types of humanity at its highest. Even Napoleon declared: "People speak of me as if I were a person: I am not a person, I am a thing." Those who are responsible for great undertakings come to feel that they are simply instruments or media of an irresistible force, much in the same way as the Great poet who feels that he is only a medium through which the inspired word is revealed to the world. That is, the group, rather than the individual, is a better psychological unit. The 'hue of resolution' in private reflection is 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought'. In the cooperative effort it gains new vigour. Every individual is initiated into the traditions of his predecessors. This tradition is primarily embodied in language and other methods of symbolic representation.[11]

V

As we pass to the higher experiences, we notice that Truth, Beauty and Goodness have an intrinsic value, and that they are to be secured for all mankind. They belong to humanity, not to separate individuals. Impersonality and objectivity characterise the aesthetic, the moral, the religious and the philosophic experiences. This impersonality is called Individuality or the principle of Reality and the consistent whole, which is beyond personality.

The conscious private self is always mediated by an opposing not-self or the external universe. This exclusive self-consciousness or personality is repellant since it isolates itself from the outer world. The experience of Reality

[11] See Lester F. Ward: *Applied Sociology*, p. 307; and Durkheim: *Les Regles de la Methode Sociologique*, p. 11.

demands that we should go out of the self or transcend it. This transcending experience or getting out of our personality is possible only in the realms of the quasi-religion of social unity, in knowledge, in art, and in religion proper—that is, in the realms of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. In all these experiences our personality is lost; our sense of unity with the world and with man becomes pre-eminent. Thus the self becomes the concrete universal by realising its unity with the not-self or Nature.[12]

VI

The literary artist can give us the best creative art only when he can transcend his personality. A good number of the novelists come out as the representatives of the social spirit. Pope's *Rape of the Lock* though based on peronal spite, acquires its value from the portrayal of the self-conscious trivialities of the genteel life in the Age of Queen Anne. Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* describes the opportunistic world of the Regency. Zola reveals the squalor of miner and farmer of his day. Galsworthy exhibits the smug satisfaction of the English middle class. While these are successes, Marlowe's *Faustus* is a failure since it is highly subjective and personal. On the other hand Sophocles and Shakespeare present the conflict between the personal self and the social self of the individual, revealing the ultimate triumph of the latter.

Despite Raleigh's attempt, Shakespeare's life as a particular individual does not creep into his writings. He was able to place himself at the point of view of every one, to comprehend their individual attitudes in his own. He never betrays his feelings. We have to accept the story of the sonnets, too, in its universal meaning. Even if it had any personal reference the poet has not woven it into the texture of his poems. Then again, consider Hamlet's words;

[12] See *Principle of Individuality*, pp. 270, 271.

"Anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was, and is, to hold as it were the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age, and body of the time, his form and pressure."

The phrases, "body of the time", and "his form and pressure" are put in casually. They modify the simile of the mirror and indicate that the purpose of Art is the representation of life as a whole, the expression of the spirit. That is, the poetic experience for Shakespeare meant the indissoluble unity of the subject with the object. This unity brings about the impersonality of the artist and of art. Hence James Joyce observes: "The artist, like the God of the creation, remains within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his finger nails"[13]. As Aristotle would put it, the good poet must be able to put himself into the emotional frame of mind of his characters, to sympathise with them. The true artist is supreme because of his universal sympathy, because he was able to discern what is of universal interest. So Keats held that the poet has no personality of his own.

Edward Caird remarked that any one who thoroughly understood Shakespeare would have got a considerable way to the understanding of God. That is, the characters he has created have all existence apart from that of their creator. They represent an attitude of the soul. Iago is a part of the imaginative construction of Shakespeare, and his character is distinguishable from that of his creator. As nature revealed a Caesar Borgia, so did Shakespeare an Iago, because he was "holding the mirror up to nature"[14] Still the true artist does not side with any of the characters he creates. He ought to be impartial as the great Vyāsa in his *Mahābhārata*. While Vālmīki somehow or other

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13 *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.*

14 See Mackenzie: *Elements of Constructive Philosophy*, p. 382.

tries to influence our feelings against Rāvaṇa, Vyāsa alone compels us to sympathise with Karṇa and Duryodhana. Hence Daṇḍin likens the poet to a creator, and the poetic universe to our empirical world.[15] The poetic world, too, is unfathomable or "Apāra", which implies that a work of art should reveal an interconnected cosmos and have universality.

VII

The individual who always aspires to be less and less personal only to be more and more human, pines after freedom, freedom from "*was uns alle bandigt—das gemeine*". "For his permanent satisfaction and saturation", Carlyle's infinite shoe black requires "God's infinite universe altogether for himself, therein to enjoy infinitely and satisfy every wish as fast as it rose". Keats spoke of the world as "the vale of soul-making", and Goethe sought to "raise the pyramid of his being as high as possible". Even Kālidāsa prayed:

> "*Mamāpi Ca Kṣapayatu nīla lohitaḥ*
> *punarbhavaṁ parigata śaktir ātma bhūtiḥ*".

He sought the cessation of finite existence or personality.

Even the characters created by the great poets are dominated by an irresistible urge, by a striving towards the Impersonal. Kālidāsa's Pārvatī is not satisfied till she has become an integral part of Śiva with whom she sought to realise her identity. This is made intelligible by the poet in the opening verse of *Raghuvaṁśa* where he compares this unity of the self and the not-self to the meaning and the sound of a word. This rare intuitive perception has profound implications which enable us to comprehend the nature of Reality in terms of the theory of suggestion in Aesthetics.

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[15] *Apāre Kā ya-Saṁsāre kavireva prajāpatiḥ.*

VIII

Great art is impersonal and objective. It belongs to the realm of the higher experiences. The higher experience is always suprasensuous and it is an inspired mood. Inspiration is a moment of intense susceptibility. In such a moment the poet is "attracted by the thought of a spirit of life in outward things, a single, all-pervading Mind in them, of which man, and even poet's imaginative energy, are but moments"[16]. Coleridge speaks of these

"Moments awful,
Now in thy inner life, and now abroad,
When power streamed from thee, and thy soul received
The light reflected, as a light bestowed."

That is in the language of Blake, "Art is not the expression of the individual, but the representation of eternal truth". It is the business of the poet not to wallow in emotion, but to purge it away in the apprehension of Truth. Thus when Wordsworth speaks of Poetry being "emotion recollected in tranquility he is aiming at this truth. The emotional mood or personality of the poet must be purged away in a serene contemplation of Reality".

The experience of Truth is sudden like a flash. Being well-equipped, the poet becomes conscious of it. This is a divine afflatus compelling him to compose. The poet writes because he must, because he wishes to realise in himself and to enable us to realise in ourselves too, the highest powers of Mind and Spirit. As Plato says in Ion: "There is no invention in the poet until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind (i. e. his finitude or personality) is no longer in him; when he has not attained to this state he is powerless and is unable to utter his oracles". In other words, the poet has a

16 W. H. Pater : *Appreciations*, p. 55.

unique experience at the moment of inspiration and the poem is the translation of that vision.

The whole doctrine of inspiration is very well propounded by the Vedic seers especially in Ṛgveda.[17] Coming to the classical Literature, Abhinavagupta speaks:

" *Bhagavadanugraha pavitravācā Kālidāseva Raghuvaṁśe*[18]".

It is the grace or favour of God that has purified the expression of Kālidāsa. It was in this strain that the Vedic poets spoke of the hymn as "Deva datta" or given by God. It is because of this divine doctrine of inspiration that the *Vedas* came to be treated as 'apauruṣeya', as originating from a non-human Reality. Consequently the vision of Reality is of supreme importance in a work of art.

This inspiration "is a divine manifestation, the manifestation of a spiritual being, at once the source and the perfection of nature and of humanity"[19]. The poet feels a violent conflict at those moments, for his spatio-temporal personality comes face to face with Reality. In this conflict the presonality of the poet is lost. And Yeats was correct when he spoke of the poem being the result of the poet quarrelling with himself. The conflict is between the lower self and the higher self. The concrete particularity of the poet's self is lost in the Impersonal Reality." The poet comes out of this state of ecstasy with new strength, for "something great is then given to the soul"[20]. Blake observes: "I have written the poems from immediate dictation, twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time, without premeditation and even against my will. The time it has taken in writing was thus rendered non-existent, and an immense poem exists which seems to be

17 The author's article on 'The Rigvedic Theory of Inspiration' in the *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*.

18 *Abhinavabhārati*, I, 308.

19 A. C. Bradley: Inspiration (*A Miscellany*).

20 St. Teresa: *Vida Cap.* 205. 29.

the labour of a long life, all produced without labour or study"[21]. Thus Blake points out that space, time and personality are transcended in the creative act.

Since great poetry has this spiritual origin, "the general substance of Poetry is absolutely identical with that of moral life and action, of other arts, and of the higher kinds of philosophy"[22]. This moment of inspiration is 'the blessed and serene mood' providing the poet with 'the vision and the faculty divine', so that he can 'see into the life of things' and realize in himself the coherent systematic unity between the blue sky and the mind of man. As the truth slid from heaven into his soul, says Browning,

"God is seen God
In the star, in the stone, in the flash, in the sail and the clod".

It was in this light that Yāska spoke of the Vedic seers as "*Sākṣāt kṛtadharmāṇaḥ*"[23]. They had direct apprehension of Reality. Tauta Bhaṭṭa in the same mood spoke of the great poet as a seer:

"*Nānṛṣiḥ Kavir ityuktaḥ Kaviśca kila darśanād Vicitra-bhāva dharmānśa tattvaprakhyā Ca darśanaṃ......Darśanād varṇanāccātha loke dṛṣṭā Kavi śrutiḥ*"[24].

'One who is not a seer is not a poet; since both should have the apprehension of Reality. Reality is manifest in our midst and around us as determinate. One has to look into the inner life of things. And the poem is no other than expression of this apprehension of Reality'. This approach to the whole problem reveals Reality to be the content of Fine Art. The expression of Reality is obviously different from the revelation of personality.

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[21] Letter, April 25, 1803.

[22] A. C. Bradley: Poetry for Poetry's Sake.

[23] *Nirukta* I. 20.

[24] Quoted by Abhinavagupta.

Tauta Bhaṭṭa demands the apprehension of Truth, and he goes to show what he means by Truth or Reality. It is "*Vicitra bhāva dharmānśa tattvaprakhyā*" that he speaks of. That is, the poet's task is to make manifest the immanent capacities of determinate Reality. He has to focus the external Reality in union with his Mind, till it reveals its inner life. And just as the philosophical systems were styled *Darśanas*, he calls Fine Art too a *Darśana*. In so doing he is advocating the principle that the general substance of Poetry is absolutely identical with that of Philosophy, Religions and the like. This is a very great advance in the understanding of the poetic spirit. And it is well to remember that he is interpreting Ānanda of the Upaniṣads, in terms of Aesthetics.

IX

Great art is Revelation (Śruti), and the great artist is not a "*Mantrakṛt*" but a "*Mantradraṣṭā*". He sees Truth and this is revealed to the world through him. The artist, therefore, is an instrument, a medium, of revelation. Ānandavardhana says,

"*Sarasvatī svādu tad arth vastu*
niṣyandamānā mahatāṁ kavīnām
alok sāmānyam abhivyanakti
pratisphurantam pratibhā viśeṣaṁ"[25].

Sarasvatī or the poetic Spirit is only reality considered in its aesthetic manifestation. This poetic spirit reveals itself through the expression of great poets. The supra-sensuous is manifested in great poetry, and the great poet, therefore, is an instrument in the hands of Reality. The very idea of a vision divests the poet of the creative act, and makes him a highly sensitive medium.

Mr. T. S. Eliot observes that "the mind of the mature poet differs from that of the immature . . . . . by

[25] *Dhvanyāloka* I. 6.

being a finely tempered medium". Mr. Eliot continues that "the poet's mind is in fact a receptacle for seizing and storing up numberless feelings, phrases and images which remain there until all the particles which can unite to form a new compound are present together"[26]. Mr. Eliot goes to show that the poet is only a medium on the analogy of platinum. When a shred of platinum is brought into a room containing oxygen and sulphur dioxide, then sulphuric acid is formed. The presence of platinum is the condition for the formation of the sulphuric acid. But platinum or its nature cannot be found in the acid. Similarly, the personality of the great poet cannot be found in his poem. This analogy is fruitful and it will help to understand the relation of the poet to his poem.

The poem is the result of some change in the consciousness of the artist. But no one can produce any change in the world except physically. "The bodily mechanical force in strict co-ordination with the forces and qualities of material things" can bring about a change. The universe in which we live is a determinate Reality. Combinations and modifications including the physical abilities of the artist, are latent in this Reality. Just as the idea of the scientist guides him in unravelling the hidden secrets of the universe, so does the idea of the artist guide him to these combinations and modifications that are hidden. This idea is in his consciousness, while the external Reality is out of his consciousness. Consequently, he has an advantage over Nature in so far as his range of combination is wider and more universal. He organises all his experiences in such a way that they constitute or determine his construction of the world.

It has been said that the poet's physical abilities too are as much latent in the world as the combinations and modifications of the material universe. That is, the poet

[26] *Loc. Cit.*

is related to nature as a cooperative mechanical force. He depends on the reactions of the material universe as much as he depends on his own. In other words, his ideas too are not his creations. As the world develops objectively and also in relation to his own consciousness, he begins to feel, to experience a unity between the subject and the object. This feeling of synthetic unity is embodied in his ideas ; and since this unity is latent as a fact, his ideas are only latent. They represent the immanent capacities of Reality.

To go back to our example, the sulphuric acid is an immanent capacity of the world in which oxygen, sulphur dioxide and platinum are organically related to one another. In the same way the poetic idea represents the immanent capacity of the world wherein the poet and a part of the whole of the material universe are organically related.

The self, we have said, does not create the ideas. It cannot bring with it a new principle. The artist can react not only to the material objects presented in his consciousness, but also to the whole universe. He can make his objects intelligible to himself and to us. He can make explicit the meaning or the context of his material copartners. He reveals not only their particular meaning, but also their significance in the coherent system. That is, he can relate them to their specific context. In this act, every bit of his totality as of theirs is necessary. In other words, the Mind needs the external as much as the external needs the Mind. We cannot, therefore, credit the artist with the authorship of the idea simply because he gives the content. Though his activity is conscious and purposive, he is not the creator. In reality the work of art is only a section of the world becoming explicit through his consciousness. But since even the possibilities of the artist are latent in determinate Reality it would be better to say that

in making itself explicit, a section of the world has found it necessary to develop consciousness.

The material objects are there outside. Capacities are immanent in them. The contact with consciousness immediately makes these capacities explicit. The artist cannot avoid this, since every new experience is to be organised into the previous system of experiences. If the conditions of the situation are not there, the artist too will be helpless. That is, the conditions or the material counterparts and their relation are absolutely necessary. Hence the creative activity cannot be ascribed to the artist in abstraction from the material associates of his work.

To go back to our example, the sulphuric acid is the product of the synthetic unity of the three things given. In the same way the poem is the outcome of the systematic coherent unity between the mind of the artist and nature.

Platinum relates the other two things to each other and also to itself, till they reveal their internal life, namely the sulphuric acid. They come alive in the acid, and platinum is the medium. Any consideration of the acid cannot enable us to get rid of any one of the three factors. Similarly we cannot take the poet apart from his material associates. The Platinum is the "*Nimitta Kāraṇa*" (the instrumental cause) of the acid; the poet is the instrumental cause or medium of the poem. He is the medium because through him and in association with him, external nature comes alive, makes explicit, its internal life.

The poet as the medium is not identical with his personality. The poet becomes a medium only under extraordinary circumstances, whereas his personality ought to be a relatively permanent characteritsic. Moreover, personality is an independent and separable thing, while the medium is vitally connected with the universe around. The medium which is the poet is characterised by the accumulated and organised experiences of the past. One

becomes a better medium precisely because of the better system of organized experiences. As the individual becomes the medium, external nature comes alive in him, that is, he loses his spatio-temporal exclusiveness, or finitude, or personality. Even the platinum of Mr. Eliot cannot be passive and unaffected, for it achieves an organic unity with the other two objects. The poet who is the medium cannot reveal his personality, for it is an aspect of Reality that comes alive, becomes explicit, or develops consciousness, which is the poem.

This principle has been recognized by Abhinavagupta in his famous commentary on Bharata. According to Bharata, '*Rasa*' or the spirit of Fine Art is the evolute of the '*vibhāvas*', '*anubhāvas*', and '*vyabhicāri bhāvas*'. These three taken together emphasise the relation of the individual mind to the external universe of other minds and matter. As a result of the synthetic unity of the self and the not-self, we arrive at the meaning of that part of the universe in terms of Rasa. The focussing of the individual mind on the outer universe, renders the meaning of Reality in terms of consciousness. As Abhinavagupta observes :

" *Tair upeta upa samīpam itaḥ Samvid darpaṇam abhi samkrāntaḥ, evam bhūto artho nāṭyam, ...tathā ca gamanīyam yatnena svarūpato hṛdayena anupraveṣṭavyam, tathā nāṭakānām pāramparyātmakam Vṛttaṁ........*"[27].

The individual consciousness is like a mirror, a medium, in which we find a reflection of the '*vibhāvas*', '*anubhāvas*' and '*vyabhicāribhāvas*'. That is, these three become explicit through consciousness, or develop consciousness. To enable such a thing to come to pass, the artist has to bring them to his consciousness ; that is, he has to focus them until they reveal their internal life. This is a conscious activity. The same idea appears in a slightly different way :

[27] *Abhinavabhāratī*, I. 44.

"*Ṣa (= nāṭyam) ca yadyapyananta vibhāvātmā, tathāpi sarveṣām jaḍānām samvidi tasyāśca bhoktari bhoktṛ vargasya ca pradhāne bhoktari paryavasānān nāyakābhidhāna bhoktṛ viseṣa sthāyi citta vṛtti svabhāvaḥ*"[28].

As a result of the focussing, we arrive at the coherent systematic unity of the subject and the object. This unity renders its significance, or makes itself explicit, through the consciousness of the individual. Hence Fine Art is no other than the mode of consciousness which is more itself because of its transformation of the non-self. And the poet figures in this context only as a medium, with the result that he loses his personality in the creative act. The creative act is, thus, beyond the limitations of time, space and personality.

X

What is this aspect of the system of Reality that comes alive through the poet's consciousness? In other words, what is the content of Art?

In one of his letters, Schiller wrote to Goethe: "Poetry and art have two conditions: they must rise above the actual, and remain with the sensuous"[29]. The actual is the finite or the personal which is subject to the limitations of time, space and causality. The artist has to transcend these limitations, and yet the artistic form is imbedded in this very finitude.

It has been maintained that the poem is the conscious expression of the unity of the subject with the object. This unity becomes a poem when it develops consciousness. Consequently the content of Fine Art can be only consciousness, which is the meaning or significance of Reality in terms of Mind. The individual or subjective

[28] *Ibid*, I. 268.

[29] *Werke*, 3. 262.

consciousness goes out of itself and achieves a unity with the objective order. So Jagannātha observes:

" *Yathā hi śarāvādinā pihito dīpas, tan nivṛttau sannihitān padārthān prakāśayati, svayam ca prakāśate. Evam ātma caitanyam vibhāvādi samvalitān ratyādīn*"[30].

It is consciousness that awakens a sort of thought in sense. This thought too, is an integral part of the Impersonal Consciousness. Hence does Jagannātha conclude that the content of Fine Art is "*Bhagnāvaraṇā Cit*" or the Universal Consciousness, which is called Reality, Absolute, or Brahman.

In the enjoyment of beauty we realise the actual union and interpenetration of matter with form; we feel the unity of receptivity and activity. That is, feeling and thought, or sense and understanding, are combined. Feeling of sense is evoked by the form, colour, or sound, which gives rise to content, idea, or thought. The '*abhidhā*' and the '*vyangya*' are inter-connected. And hence we realise the '*vyanga*' in the '*abhidhā*', the infinite in the the finite. " Truth as a capacity ", as Schiller says, " is already contained in Beauty "[31]. The content of Beauty is Truth, which is another word for the significance of the universe. Art provides the meeting place between Reality and the Universe. The artist cognises the highest, *the* Reality, in doing which he becomes the " whole Man "[32], achieves true Individuality, realizes the concrete universal. If a poet can compose a song out of his own phantasy, a song without any objective reference, then he may reveal his personality and revel in it. But such poems are not the expressions of the Poetic Spirit which unites the Subject and the Object. Hence does Schelling say: " Take away the objectivity of Art, and it ceases to be what it is"[33].

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[30] *Rasagaṅgādhara*, p. 27.

[31] Letter 25.

[32] Cf. Schelling's *Werke*, 3. 630.

[33] *Ibid.*

The content of Beauty is the same as that of Truth; or as Hegel would put it, Beauty is the Idea as it shows itself to sense.[34] By idea he rightly means the concrete world-process considered as a systematic unity. The idea is revealed in a completely non-sensuous way in human intelligence. It is unconsciously embodied in Nature and consciously in Art. The unification of human consciousness with Nature makes Art possible, since the Idea reveals itself through sense in Art.

The *Upaniṣads* characterize Brahman or the Absolute as "*Sat*", "*Cit*", or "*Ānanda*". "*Sat*" and "*Cit*", or "Existence" and "Consciousness", reveal the nature of the Absolute or Reality as felt in the Religious, Ethical and Philosophic experiences. "*Ānanda*" refers to the same Reality as embodied in the Aesthetic Consciousness. And hence the Absolute is spoken of as Rasa in the famous passage, "*Raso vai saḥ*". By Rasa the *Upaniṣads*, as correctly interpreted by Jagannātha, mean pure consciousness or Reality. And Abhinavagupta in a significant passage speaks of "Śānta" as the only Rasa, as the Mahā-rasa. The other Rasas are appearances through which Reality comes to manifest itself:

"*Anvitābhidhāna dṛśivopā yātmakāni, abhihitānvaya dṛśiva tat samudāya rūpāṇi*"[35].

XI

If this is the content of Art, we have to explain why different poets differ in their themes, and also why the same poet has different themes for different poems. Since the poem is the outcome of a subject-object unity, it can be said to be a cross-section of the universe rendering up its meaning. This primarily depends upon the objects given in an experience. Next it depends upon a finite

[34] *Aesthetik*, I. 141.

[35] *Abhinavabhāratī*, I. 269.

centre of experience which constantly expands itself due to training and environment.

The theme of an artist depends upon the object or objects that enter his field of observation. Though a scientific observation has to fulfil the physical and moral conditions, yet the intellectual condition is beyond one's control. The tastes and the aptitudes of the individual colour his observation. Even if the same object were presented to two different individuals, it is bound to result in two different impressions precisely because of their background. This background is constituted by the mental construction of the world by each. Every one organizes his system of experiences ; but one differs from the other in the degree of this organization. Every one has the ability to organize his past and every one constructs his own world as the basis of his past experiences and training. The specific factor lies in the specific systematization of these experiences. In other words, all the individuals have ability ; all are obliged to believe in an objective universe ; and all take it to be necessary. But the degree in which they have it, and the way in which they make it coherent, is different from individual to individual.

Different poets have different capacities and abilities, and so they react to the given material differently. This difference in their reaction does not mean a difference in their personalities, but only in their capacities and abilities. Modern experimental psychology has recognized that general ability is more or less common to all Individuals. But people differ in the degree of their abilities[36]. A specialised ability is acquired through training and experience. The inter-correlation between the abilities determines the differences between the individuals or the mental plane. With training and experience.the abilities become more and more specialized. Hence when two poets differ in their thought

[36] See Spearman's *Nature of Cognition* ; *Abilities of Man.*

and form, we have to conclude that there is a difference in their abilities. This means that their difference is due to their training and experience. That is why the mature work of an artist differs considerably from an immature one of the same artist. The development of the ability is in the direction of greater and greater de-personalization.

Even if the same material is given two poets are bound to differ from one another precisely because of their different abilities and capacities as conditioned by their training and experience. The general ability or energy can be compared to the *Elan Vital* of Bergson. It is the invisible urge, the vital spark which lies within us all. The inter-correlation of the various abilities develops with experience and it receives its mightiest expression in the creative self, which, according to Bergson, is the universal self. This self, says Bergson, is "the impulse that sets every artist to produce the masterpiece that transcends his individual personality, and becomes the collective heritage of man. And this creative urge resides not only in the artist but in every one of us. It is the power back of our every noble thought, the rapture experienced in the lover's kiss, the mother's joy in the act of giving birth to her child, the blessing that accompanies the doing of every good deed, the hope of all men who believe in their immortal destiny"[37].

General ability consists in the power of grasping relationships. That is, the development of general ability means the development of the power of grasping the meaning and the context of things and objects. Just like experience, general ability too tends to be universal by carrying us beyond the given. It enables us to relate the given to our system of experiences. By training and effort it becomes more and more specialized, more and more coherent. General

[37] Henry and Lee Thomas Dana: *Living Biographies of Great Philosophers*, p. 321.

ability thus appears to be the principle governing conscious experience. It enables one to organize his experiences. Consequently the differences between individuals are not to be resolved into those of personalities. On the other hand people differ in their organised systems of experiences. This system is determined by one's own training and environment as much as by his own past and future. In other words, the difference between two persons lies in the experiences they have, and in their relating this experience to their idea of Reality. This, therefore, is the reason why different poets have different themes. One's own training, environment and past determine the present. And so, too, different poets react differently to the same material. This reaction does not define one's personality, for it is rooted in experience, past and present. Since experience tends to be universal, since it transcends the given and brings in the system of Reality as constructed mentally by each, the ability and the capacity of the individual move in the direction of Universality or Impersonality. The degree of Impersonality achieved depends upon the degree of Personality lost or transformed. As such to speak of a work as revealing the artist's personality, is a flagrant contradiction and a violation of the fundamental law of experience. Experience brings something new, adds something, and thus transforms our personality. This transformation is gradual and progressive, because every moment, every idea, enriches us and enlarges ourself. This progressive assimilation and development is analyzable in strictly scientific terms.

XII

The psychological studies of Poincaire[38] and Wallas[39] have been fruitful in analysing the creative thought into

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[38] *Science and Method.*

[39] *The Art of Thought.*

four stages. To begin with, there is the stage of preparation, when the problem is observed and examined on all sides, and the material is brought together. The artist observes or focusses his attention on an object with a definite background. Pater demands scholarship from an artist,[40] while T. S. Eliot speaks of the artist's mind in terms of a receptacle, a store-house.[41] It was in this light that Vāmana, too, stressed the necessity of scholarship for an artist.[42] Vyutpatti was recognized in Indian Aesthetics as essential and this is happily interpreted by Abhinavagupta in terms of the organization of one's own experiences and training to determine his mental construction of Reality.[43]

The second stage is incubation, when no serious attention is paid to the problem. The artist does not create ideas. He has to wait patiently till the external things become explicit and render their meaning. In other words, he mediates and helps them.

The third stage commences with an illumination and a flash. It is the moment of inspiration when the internal life of the external things is revealed to the artist. It is the stage when he is enabled to relate them to their context. The sudden flash of inspiration is nothing but helping them relate their internal life. In this stage, the artist overcomes his exclusiveness and realises his kinship or unity, with the outer world, finds out the unity between " the mind of man " and " the blue sky ".

The final stage is one of verification or elaboration. The flash is to be made explicit only when it is seen that it fits into our system of knowledge and experience. It is to be verified with reference to the system and then expressed calmly and decisively.

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40 *Appreciations* : Style.

41 *Loc. Cit.*

42 *Kāvyālaṅkāra Sūtra Vṛtti.*

43 See *Abhinavabhāratī* I. 11 and *Locana*, p. 149 (Bombay).

Kālidāsa, for example, seems to have taken up the composition of *Raghuvaṁśa* after writing the first seven or eight Cantos of *Kumārasaṁbhava*. Many references to the further story of *Kumārasaṁbhava* are strewn in the pages of *Raghuvaṁśa*.[44] From this it is evident that he intended to come back to the earlier work and complete it, though he failed to do so. Here we find preparation and incubation too, though the attention to the earlier work has followed the great poet sub-consciously. As the latter story did not fit into his system of things, and as it could not find an intelligible place in his mental construction of Reality, he could not take it up. Hence there was no sudden flashing up of the idea or ideas. Here we have a similarity of the great artist's mind with that of the disinterested and de-personalized scientist.

XIII

The psychologist, does not find any difference between the minds of the scientist and the poet. And Mr. T. S. Eliot compares the impersonality of the artist to the impersonality of the scientist. Newton's special virtues of imagination and capacity for disinterested thought led him to the great discovery. Personality and disinterestedness are poles apart. The disinterested endeavour is purely objective and impersonal. His special virtues of imagination enabled him to look into Nature, to find out its inner life, and to estimate correctly the place of man in the cosmos.

Einstein, no doubt, speaks of the striving of Max Plank as "arising from an immediate personal need". But he also speaks of Max Plank's "longing to see the pre-established harmony"[45]. This longing is an attempt at a rational interpretation of the universe; it is an attempt at relating man to the universe and at finding out the

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[44] See Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's articles on Kālidāsa in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.

[45] Preface to Max Plank's *Where is Science Going.*

principle or principles governing this relation. Max Plank felt it as a personal need only because he was keenly alive to the imperfections of his personality. He longed to lose his finitude and thus find himself at home in the comprehensive system of Reality.

Mr. W. F. Ogburn[46] brings forth this point when he emphasises the social factor in invention. A good number of the scientific inventions take place when the scientist begins to realise in himself the social self or the self of humanity. This is clearly evident in the cases of those things that are invented twice or even thrice independent of one another. The scientists independently arrived at the same results. Thus, for example, photography was invented twice in 1839, telegraph thrice in 1837, telephone twice in 1876, phonograph twice in 1877. It is social, human, or impersonal demand that necessitated these inventions. This reveals that the individual can bridge the gulf that differentiates him from another. As such different artists may strike at identical thoughts. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* has had its parallel in a much earlier Śaktibhadra's *Āścarya cūḍāmaṇi*. All this goes to prove that the artistic creation is an answer to the social demand. And Shakespeare, it is said, gave the public the type of drama which they wanted. This social necessity has given birth to the periodical novel in English.

Science sacrifices personality in the name of natural evolution. Similarly the higher moral, social, religious and aesthetic evolution too demands a transformation of personality. As H. G. Wells observes: "I believe in the great and growing Being of the Species from which I rise, to which I return, and which, it may be, will even ultimately transcend the limitation of the species, and grow into that conscious Being, the eternally conscious Being of all things. Believing that, I cannot also believe that my peculiar little

[46] *Social Change with respect to Culture and Original Nature.*

thread will not undergo synthesis and vanish as a separate thing.......The great things of my life, love, faith, the intimation of beauty, the things most savouring of immortality, are the things most general, the things most shared and least distinctively me"[47]. It is in Love, Faith and Beauty, Goodness, Truth and Beauty—Philosophy, Religion and Fine Art—that we have an experience of the supra-sensuous. In them the finite personality of the individual is transmuted, and the limitations constituting personality are transcended. Consequently, these experiences do not provide any place for personality. And from the standpoint of science too, the evolutionary process is in the direction of Impersonality. The same truth is dinned into our ears by Relativity—and atom—physics, since these discoveries have made us realize our position in the cosmos. This position is not that of pre-Copernican astronomy when the individual prided in his own personality. We are more de-personalized. Marxism and Freudian systems too are tending in the direction of impersonality, since the individual apart from his environment is a myth, and since the environment plays a very prominent role.

XIV

The next problem is, why should different poets select different art forms in the same age? The answer is to be found in the nature and the activity of the human mind which is a many-sided whole. From the standpoint of Art, one age is differentiated from the other in its demand for expression. The same needs of expression are relative to the media of expression. The demand of the times and of the country are at the back of the content and form of Art. Furthermore, it has been said that the training and the organized system of experiences play a prominent role both in the selection of the material and of its proper

[47] *First and Last Things.*

form. This question can be best answered when we solve the other problem, viz., why do different poets accept different media of expression in different ages ? The answer to the first question is contained in the answer to the second.

" The whole world of imagined beauty ", says Hegel, " passes in the first place through phases determined by the progression of intelligence and also by the cumulative result of the sequence itself". This is the principle underlying the historic evolution of the Ideal. The art-form depends upon the process of history, upon the world-process. The growth in civilization and the intellectual advancement of the age determine the form of art. The epic form of Homer has been replaced by the lyrical and psychological drama of Aeschylus and Sophocles ; and the Greek nation by the time of Euripedes has had its intellectual development from the symbolic to the Romantic. The intensely dramatic Renaissance gave way to the lyric of the French Revolution. A. C. Bradley has applied this Hegelian principle brilliantly to the Age of Wordsworth and he has shown how and why the long poem was a failure in that age.[48]

Coming to the next problem, we can clearly see the same principle at work. The individual is a social being and his experience transcends the given particular since the organized system of experiences is in the direction of greater and greater de-personalization or enlargement of the self. It is with a background that he approaches his material and focusses his attention on it by unifying himself with the object of experience. And experiencing makes a difference to the object and the subject as well. The subject when he comes into contact with the object is determined by his tradition, training and experience. The union of the material with such an individual, makes explicit the inner significance of this coherent picture. But

[48] *Oxford Lectures on Poetry.*

the significance as such cannot unfold itself except through a definite form. And since matter and form are inseparable, and since form is the appearance assumed by matter, the form and matter of any work of art is conditioned by the degree of coherence which the subject and the object achieve. As a result, the form of art too is dependent upon the same tradition, training and experience.

In the various poems of a poet one can find out similarities and differences. For example, the poems of Keats have a certain similarity and a certain difference. His Odes, Sonnets and the longer poems are related to one another by one way or another. Yet his Odes seem more profound than the rest. Such a thing takes place because of the progressive systematization of experience and training on the part of the poet. There are similarities because every past experience enters into the present one. The differences arise because of the greater coherence arrived at, because of the better system of organised experiences which is another word for the progressive de-personalization on the part of the poet.

Sometimes it may so happen that the later works of an artist become dull and insipid. This is partly explicable in terms of the physical system, for senility and imbecility may crop up due to old age or disease. However, in all cases it depends upon tradition, training and organized system of experiences on the one hand, and the coherence realized by the unity of the subject and the object on the other. In other words, the differences and similarities between the works of the same poet are explicable in terms of the organization of the past and the degree of the realization of the coherent systematic unity. The same principle also explains the similarities and the differences between the various poets during the same age. Hence, Hegel explained the differences on the basis of the historical evolution of the Ideal, and of the needs of expression.

As these differences are based on experience alone, the differences between the various artists are relative. And since the content of Art is the coherent system of Reality or Consciousness, the difference between the poets lies only in the degree of the manifestation of the Ideal. In other words, the Ideal that is unconsciously revealed in Nature, requires consciousness to become explicit, to reveal its inner life. In so doing it accepts the individual consciousness as the medium of expression. In the language of Kant, the individual artist offers the form of sensibility. This form of sensibility in relation to the external universe appears in the form of Art revealing and suggesting the Reality.

XV

The form of Art too may and can influence matter. The painting of a wooden statue, for example, will be inappropriate for a marble one. Similarly a lyric in blank verse, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalaṁ* as a narrative poem, will be highly inappropriate. That is, the form of Art seems to determine the content ; and since the form is only a form of sensibility, it may be contended that the personality of the artist lies at least here. But when such a distinction is thought about, it is better to remember that form and matter have an inseparable synthetic unity. It is true that form delimits the content to a certain extent. For instance, the content of the space as delimited by a square is not the same as that delimited by a rectangle or a circle. We apprehend the content in terms of the form. That is, the content is cognizable in a definite form and hence the idea of form must be imbedded in the content.

The ideas and sentiments, which are said to constitute matter, can be better considered as the formative principle. This principle seeks expression in an appropriate material.[49]

[49] A. C. Bradley : *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, p. 24.

That is, the idea of form depends upon the degree of manifestation of the content. And since the content of all great Art is the coherent system, and since that system can only appear through Fine Art, we find that an atmosphere of infinite suggestion hovers round the best poetry. The infinite content comes to suggest itself through a finite form.

Goethe, along with his friends Hirt and Meyer, laid down the principle that the ancient Art is characterized by the significant, while the result of successful treatment was beautiful. Goethe emphasised the characteristic, the unity created by a single feeling or idea. The excellence of Art consists in expression adequate to a meaning. In other words, expression is as much important as meaning itself. And on this significant point Hegel observes : " This highly trained skill in the thoroughly perfect manipulation of the material is involved in the notion of the Ideal, as it has for its principle the total incorporation in the sensuous and the fusion of the inward spirit with the outward being "[50]. The finitude or the sensuous aspect of the art-form is resolvable to the two senses of sight and hearing. As such, Art can produce only a shadow world of shapes, sounds, and imaginable ideas. These sensuous shapes and sounds are presented to afford satisfaction to the higher spiritual interests. In other words, the sensuous gets spiritualized in Fine Art.

The form or the sensuous aspect of Art is not purely mechanical work, for it does not involve the unconscious skill that can be seen in the sensuous sleight of hand. In Art we have synthetic unity of the spiritual and the sensuous. It is an undivided unity. " The essential plasticity and sensuousness of the work of art must be present subjectively

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[50] *Aesthetic*, p. 442.

in the artist as natural disposition and natural impulse "[51]. This native disposition is trained to see the proper relationships that can and do exist between the facts of experience. The propriety of the organic or inner relation determines both the form and the content of any work of art, of any manifestation of the Idea or Reality. Bosanquet, therefore, observes. "It is as the balance and reaction between expression and import that the distinction of the art-forms hinges "[52]. The balance or harmony is the cardinal principle. The artist's reaction to the given material determines not only the unravelling of the inner life as the part of the facts or things involved, but also the form which that consciousness assumes. Consequently, the form taken becomes imbedded in the systematic unity of Mind and Nature. Though the form of Art is only a form of sensibility, it exists outside of us. As Pater says, "The material in which he works is no more a creation of his own than the sculptor's marble "[53]. As long as it remains a form of sensibility, it is a blank intensity groping after concreteness. And the duty of the artist is to discover for himself and for us the balance between expression and import.

The "infinite variety" of external nature gets modified or transformed as it comes into contact with human consciousness in all its infinitely varied forms. The artist focuses the things into a system and this intense experience brings forth what is vital. He is enabled to experience the "vital feelings of delight", which are the outcome of the realization of something Impersonal or Universal. And "in all the colour and intensity of a veritable apprehension, the style will be in a real sense impersonal"; for, great Art "has something of the soul of humanity in it,

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[51] *Ibid*, Introduction, pp. 108-114.

[52] *History of Aesthetic*, p. 354.

[53] *Appreciations*, p. 9.

and finds it logical, its architectural place, in the great structure of human life".[54]

This brings us to another point in the consideration of the impersonality of great Art. Every great poem tells us plainly that "every lineament of the vision within" has only one acceptable word. The duty of the artist is to strike the balance between the import and expression of a systematic coherent unity. The significance and value of his reaction can be measured in terms of the harmony, agreement, or synthetic unity between thought and language.

Language is the product of society and of tradition. Every one of us is initiated into the mysteries of this aspect of tradition. The more we participate in language, which is a social product, the more do we get de-personalized. The artist can be said to make language his own only when he loses his finite, individual personality, only when he realises the spirit of his age and of his country in himself and for himself. Consequently, the harmony which, the poet has to achieve between the import and expression is not only objective ; it is to be realised in terms of a social factor. Just as the marble of the sculptor is an integral part of the outer universe, so is the language of the literary artist. It is in this sense that both the form and the content of art are in the objective world of Reality. He has only to bring them together and make them intelligible with reference to one another.

XVI

The starting point of the poet is personal, finite and exclusive. He starts as a spatio-temporal individual. As he comes into contact with a section of the external universe, he becomes a cooperating partner, thus losing his exclusive existence step by step. As he begins to organize his

[54] Pater : *Appreciations*, pp. 35, 36.

experiences, and as he begins to realize his unity with the outer world, he gets de-personalized, for the external universe develops consciousness or becomes explicit, through him. The subjective or partial existence of the artist becomes synthetic, unified, and objective.

Mr. C. S. Lewis observes : "When we read poetry as poetry ought to be read, we have before us no representation which claims to be the poet, and frequently no representation of a man or character or personality at all. We may see the objects the poet has seen or see them in the way he saw them. But even this is a mode of consciousness, and it cannot be called personality. It has a mode of consciousness created temporarily in the minds of various readers by the suggestive qualities and ideas which certain words have taken on in the course of human history, and never as far as we know existing normally or permanently—never constituting the person in any one. A poet does what no one else can do. But he does not express his personality. His own personality is the starting point, and his limitation. If he remains at his starting point, he is no poet. As long as he is like the rest of us, a mere personality, all is still to do. It is his business from his own mode of consciousness whatever that may happen to be, to find that arrangement of public experience, embodied in words, which will admit him and incidentally us to a new mode of consciousness." In this process the poet takes us beyond the limits of his own personal point of view by sublimating the brute fact of his own particular psychology. And the mind thus becoming impersonal is able to see each single subject synthetically.[55]

The development of the soul is from isolation to unity, from finitude to infinitude, from part to whole. Such an evolution can be compared to the seed evolving itself into a flower. There is an organic unity inherent

[55] See Whitman : "Song of the Universal".

in this process. The seed is contained and comprehended in the flower; if one may say so, it realizes its full individuality, impersonality, or perfection, in the state of the flower. And Tennyson sings,

"—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is".

The flower is intelligible not by itself, but with reference to the system containing its past and its relation to man. Its past is not negated, nor destroyed, but only transmuted. This transmutation leaves no trace of the personality of the seed. In the same way, though the poet starts with his finitude or personality, or exclusiveness, he loses this gradually as he comes to realise his unity with the outer universe. And if the starting point is one of isolation or exclusiveness, the terminating point is one of organic coherent unity, which can be rendered as Objectivity, Universality, or Impersonality. The whole process between these two points is continuous and gradual. The nature of the object, " root and all and all in all ", in relation to the mind of man is comprehended as a result of this organic process. Hence those who seek the personality of the poet in his poem, are not trying to know his creative self.[56]

The state of youth when one is not intellectually ripe demands personality, as the many poems of Byron, Keats and even of Shelley prove. This is powerfully aided by a study of literature produced in times of crisis. The emotional mood overpowers an individual in critical times, and one is apt to ignore or minimize the value of the intellectual side. These two factors result from one's lack of the understanding of Nature at first hand. In other words, as long as we value the individual abstracting him from his environment, we are apt to give a great place to the personality of the artist.

[56] See Schiller: *Werke*, 12. 226.

XVII

We associate strength of feeling with Art. But feeling must be capable of being expressed in a definite form. It must cease to be personal, cease to be a blank intensity. It must gather substance from ideas, and, therefore, take an objective character. Otherwise, pure feeling belongs to the dull region of the mind. In Fine Art the emotional side is subsumed under the intellectual.

It is, further, an agreed principle of literary criticism that the critic or the reader can best enjoy the creative work only when he participates in the experience of the poet as represented in the peom. Hence it is said by Bharata :

" *Kaver antargatam bhāvam* . . . . ."

Tauta Bhaṭṭa too advocates the same view:

" *Nāyakasya kaveś śrotus samāno anubhavas tataḥ* "[57].

The experiences of the poet, of his characters, and of his reader must be identical. It is only in terms of this identity of experience that a work of Art becomes intelligible. The whole theory of Aesthetic enjoyment or " *Rasa pratīti*" as enunciated by Abhinavagupta and his followers goes to strenghten this standpoint. The Romantic criticism of Coleridge and Bradley in England is in this direction.

This universality is absolutely essential and it is the criterion of great Art. But if the poem cannot escape from the personality of the poet, it is impossible for the critic or the reader to revive it or to recreate it for himself. The very fact that we are able to feel an identity with the great poet and his characters, is sufficient proof of the impersonality of great Art. Hazlitt thought that we are all Hamlets, and Coleridge felt that he had a smack of Hamlet.

[57] Quoted by Abhinavagupta.

The Sophoclean Oedipus has been made universal by Freud. Duṣyanta universalizes his feelings as he says,

> " *Satām hi sandeha padeṣu vastuṣu*
> *pramāṇam antaḥkaraṇa pravṛttayaḥ* "[58].

It was in this strain that the Ṛgvedic seers uttered the celebrated lines :

> " *Devānām nu vayaṁ janā pravocāma vipanyayā*
> *ukthesu śasyamāneṣu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge* "[59].

This Ṛk means : " We reveal or speak out with our skill the generation of the gods, so that in later ages, when these songs are sung, people may see or realise the same ". That is, the Ṛgvedic seers held that the reader or the critic too must be enabled by the great work of Art to have the same experience as the poet.

This universality, therefore, implies that the great work of Art cannot reveal the personality of the artist. The personality as such may reside to a certain extent in the emotional experiences and impressions. But the great artist has to soften them in a moment of calmness and remove the personal tinge. This is what Wordsworth meant when he declared poetry to be " emotion recollected in tranquillity ", for at the same time he spoke of poetry as " the image of man and nature ". This principle led the ancients both in India and in Europe to lay down the rule that the plot of any literary work must be classical, or objective, or impersonal—" *prasiādham itivṛttam* "[60]. The plot should not be personal. The same principle applies to the idea of Art too. By " prasiddhaṃ ", they only meant some thing objective and impersonal, so that it can be a force to reckon with.

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[58] *Abhijñāna Śākuntalaṁ*, I.

[59] *Ṛgveda*, 10.72.1.

[60] *Nāṭya Śāstra* : Cf. Horace : *Ars Poetica.*

XVIII

Milton spoke of a poem as "the precious life-blood of a master-spirit"[61]. This master-spirit can be one who has transcended his exclusive finitude or personality. If he has not realized in himself the self of society or of humanity, his work cannot have universality; and consequently the artist whose personality is revealed in his work, cannot produce a work which can be "embalmed and treasured up for a life beyond life".

The artist has to realize in himself at least the spirit of his age and of his country, if he cannot realize the spirit of humanity. Then alone can he give up his exclusiveness, sympathize with others, and participate in their pleasures and pains. In this way he can live in every one of his characters and they can live in him. That is, the various selves of a society or of a country render up their content to the mind of one who has de-personalized himself. They have, no doubt, their separate existence in time and space; but they find their context and meaning in the great experience of the Impersonal Mind. This is the relation which the creative artist too bears to his characters. He lives in every one of them, and they constitute his Mind or Experience which becomes a coherent system.

Great poets, therefore, become universal forces. They voice the sentiments of humanity. In his introduction to his edition of Dante, Fraticelli says that the *Divine Comedy* is "a political, historical and ethical picture of the thirteenth century Europe". What is finest and most spiritual in the thirteenth century Catholicism has left its mark on it and entered into its soul. In the passionate language of poetry, Dante was able to express objectively the spiritual experience of the age in which he lived. The central interest of the poem lies in the fate of the souls that have rendered up their content to the soul of the poet. Nothing

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[61] *Areopagitica.*

could be more universal. It represents the culmination of the great " movement in which the individual spirit has deepened into a universe within, because it has widened into oneness with the universe without"[62].

Dante's experience contains in itself the whole spatio-temporal universe in general, and Italy in particular. But it appears throughout as something more. It appears as expression, character and emotion. The world which Alice discovered " through the looking-glass " has an extensive magnitude, though it is not the world a geographer can locate. Shakespeare's Bohemia in the *Winter's Tale*, with its seacoast, is similar to it. In the same way we cannot postulate a time sequence for the adventures of *Arabian Nights*, *Don Quixote* and *Hans Anderson*.

Likewise, the intuition of the Yakṣa in *Meghadūta* has given rise to the geography of India from Rāmagiri to Alakā. India has entered into the poetic experience of Kālidāsa. But judging the way in which Schiller incorporated it in one of his interesting dramas, and the way how the many Dūtakāvyas arose later on, one feels justified in stating that the poetic experience has felt the country beyond time and space.

Dante is his country " come alive ". The scene of the spiritual drama recorded in *Purgatorio* is Casentino which is described in *Inferno* as:

" The rivulets to Arno from the hills
descending through the Casentino green,
cooling and refreshing their little rills,
Ever and not in vain, by me are seen,
because their image is more withering
than the disease that makes my visage lean "[63].

In such a marvellous passage, external nature continues to remain external ; but at the same time it has

[62] Bosanquet : *History of Aesthetic*, p. 153.
[63] 30.64 to 69.

passed into a concrete emotion. The third Canto of Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-saṁbhava* presents the same aspect in a much more objective manner. The whole season of spring has passed into a concrete poetic emotion leading to the cremation of Cupid and the union of Śiva and Pārvatī.

Coming to the finite selves in the poem, we find that they have rendered up their content to the great experience of the poet. They are integral parts of his mind, though they have an independent and objective existence apart from that of the poet's mind. All these souls participate in the moods, volitions, and perceptions. These moods, volition and perceptions constitute the whole of experience; they are the substance and the tissue of the poet's mind in the poem. Such are Himavān, Pārvatī and Śiva; such are Duṣyanta, Śakuntalā, Kaṇva, Priyaṁvadā, Anasūyā and others. They exist independently of the poet. But they do participate in the moods, volitions, and perceptions of the poet. The poet endows them with individuality which becomes meaningless apart from the experience of the poet, apart from the tissue of his mind. Because of the cooperation of the finite selves with nature, the full experience affirms itself in and through externality. Kālidāsa's mind laid hold of India and of the world through the selves he presented. He has transformed them and he was equally well transformed by them.

A poem is a thought and mood in its fullest completeness. The living form and substance of the poem is the whole experience of the poet. This whole experience suggests a perfect union of Mind and Nature. The world of Nature is absorbed by and through the world of selves. The *Pūrva Megha* provides the meeting place of Mind and Nature. The glowing account of the route given therein is not presented in abstraction from the individual. Every idea of the poet, every impression stated therein, has its counterpart in the *Uttara Megha* and in the mind of the

Yakṣa. The cloud comes from the outer universe and the individual mind of the Yakṣa comes into contact with it. The unity between the two unravels its inner life in the *Uttara Megha*. The world of nature is absorbed by and through the finite selves, whereby the content of the finite self of Yakṣa, as that of the poet, is transformed completely at the end of the poem.

The complete experience of the poet brings together all the selves, the selves as they are transformed and expanded by the station they hold and the illumination they receive in it. The vast unitary vision and experience of the poet brings together Nature and the Personalities. This is how the poet constructs an all-embracing spiritual world where Nature and the finite selves or personalities are organically interconnected elements. The Yakṣa started with the idea that the cloud is unrelated to the mind of man, and that it is inanimate ; for he says in the beginning,

"*Kāmārtāhi prakṛti kṛpāṇāścetanācetaneṣu*".

But as he proceeds to realize his relationship, as he begins to comprehend the coherent unity, he forgets all about the inanimate nature of the cloud. Moreover, he begins to address the cloud as his friend and brother. He comprehends the unity step by step as his exlusiveness too begins to fade gradually into something higher. The factual history of the external world is brought by the poet to reveal its inner life. And under intense illumination there is the revelation of its true appearance, which is the poem. It never destroys the factual objectivity of the world, but it only reveals its meaning in the context of Reality[64].

Every great work of Art lends weight to such an interpretation, and it is because of the impersonality and universality living in and through a coherent system of Reality, that the Great Poet is compared to the Creator

[64] See Bosanquet : *Principle of Individuality* pp. 380-386.

and the Great Work is described *Apauruṣeya* or super-personal. And the ancient aestheticians have spoken of "*Viśva Śreyaḥ Kāvyaṁ*".

XIX

The concept of impersonality is strengthened by a consideration of the other Fine Arts. In Literature one may fondly hope of finding out the personality of the poet, though he will be disillusioned in his search. But Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music and Dance do not and cannot admit of the intrusion of the artist's personality. The self of the artist is sympathetic and idealized. The feeling of the artist gets permeated by an idea and enters into the world-life. Hence does Hegel speak of the ideas of the gem-cutter as being in the form of muscular and tactile feeling. The artist, in other words, is the necessary middle term between content and expression. From the fullness of an individual's heart there issues forth genuinely the characteristic utterance. This fullness is a harmonious expansion, a realization of the unity of the system of Reality.

Personality implies that the individual is finite since he is determined on every side in his inner caprice, impulse, and desire, and also by external facts. And yet the individual knows himself as something free and infinite. This personality begins with one's consciousness of himself as a completely abstract ego, as a purely self-identical being. This ego is the barest of all abstractions devoid of any content, since it is only a relation of the self to itself. In the language of Hegel: "The abstract will, consciously self-contained, is personality ...... A person is a unit of freedom aware of its sheer independence ....And yet as *this* person I am something wholly determinate"[65] Thus on the one hand personality exists dissociated from the world of object and of human institutions, and it exists

[65] Hegel: *Philosophy of Right* (Translated by T. M. Knox), p. 235.

as exclusively self-centred. On the other hand personality draws its content from the environment and from the universe, thus losing its inherent personality. Thus one aspect of personality is a bare nothing and of no serious import to life ; and this is its actual meaning. A second aspect of personality is revealed in the interpenetration of the individual and the universe at large ; and this leads to the realization of impersonality. The former is without value, and the latter makes life highly significant. And hence does Hegel observe : "Thus personality is at once the sublime and the trivial. It implies this unity of the infinite with the purely finite, of the wholly limitless with determinate limitation. It is the sublimity of personality that is able to sustain this contradiction, a contradiction which nothing merely natural contains or could endure."[66] The development of life means the gradual supersession of subjective personality, and the gradual development of objectivity which is incompatible with personality proper. For personality by itself requires no other object other than itself; while impersonality is the consequence of the relation of a mind to its objects. In the Aesthetic experience too we do not have merely the self related to itself; in other words we have a de-personalized self.

Speaking of the depth of feeling in the aesthetic experience Coleridge refers to the "feeling for a world in which the self in any personal sense no longer occupied a place, but might be said, as in love, to have 'passed in music out of sight'."[67] Here we have the experience of self-transcendence, which experience is vitally enjoyed by us in all walks of life. Without it no human relations are possible; nor can there be any appreciation and understanding of fine art.

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[66] *Ibid.*

[67] J. H. Muirhead : *Coleridge as a Philosopher*, p. 211.

In every experience, it is a person who has a feeling, and this feeling exists. But this feeling is not a bare feeling for a pure feeling represents the dull infinite region of the mind. Hence a feeling is always surcharged with a content, permeated and enlivened by ideas. And these ideas cannot be confined to the narrowest self of the individual, which self is the centre of personality. Therefore, personality of art rests on an error of "confusion between the existence of feeling in a person—which is necessary to its existence at all--and the restriction of its content to his narrowest self, which the nature of feeling or of its qualifying accompaniments does not in any way demand"[68]. This confusion is the source of all vain speculations and presumptuous theories in the discussion of the problem of personality.

XX

The content of human personality is closely related to the physical organism, though Ribot exaggerates a little when he says that the physical organism is the principle of individuation.[69] The system of Vedānta characterises Māyā as the *principium individuationis* for it is equivalent to finitude. As a result, the whole concept of personality lies in an embodied self, a self occupying a given position and time. The true nature of the Individual self lies in overcoming this personality or the false Individuality.[70] True Individuality or Impersonality is governed by the principle of the consistent whole which harmonizes the self and the not-self by relating them to their context or station in the system of Reality. This is spoken as "*ananyatva*" in Advaita. The personal self develops into the Impersonal. It rises into the higher[71].

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[68] B. Bosanquet: *Science and Philosophy*, p. 405.
[69] *Diseases of Personality*, p. 148.
[70] Cf. Śaṅkara on *Chāndogya* VI and *Ved. Sūtra* 1.1.1.
[71] Cf. *Bhāmatī* on *Tarkapāda* and on 1.1.4 of the *Vedānta Sūtras*.

The popular mind is justified in crediting an individual with a personality only when he is a social factor. The social factor, as we have said, brings forth an ideal enlargement of the self which to start with is only a finite centre of experience. The individual self gradually loses its exclusiveness or finitude, finally merging up in the larger whole. Personality even in the sense of "conservation of values", as Hoffding argues, is a little intriguing.[72] If all values are to be preserved, they must need be transformed beyond recognition. The values as such cannot remain isolated, and in the system of Reality they lose their exclusive existence, and we can never speak of these with reference to their empirical status.

Even if the immortality of the individual soul were to be a fact and if this were equated with the personality of the individual, then too we do not advance. That aspect of the soul which Plato and others regard as eternal, cannot be regarded as individual, as constituting the personality of the individual. The same thing holds good of the Soul in Vedānta ; for as Green held, it is the evanescent animal organism that differentiates one eternal consciousness from another.[73] Hence it is that Pringle-Pattison with all his insistence on personality, admits that personal immortality "is not an absolute necessity"[74]. And Josiah Royce advocates the persistency of individuality which cannot be identified with the personality of a finite human person.[75] The individual is finite, or has a personality precisely because of the animal organism which is a spatio-temporal continuum. In moments of intense activity, profound susceptibility, and intellectual flight, we hardly recognize our embodied existence or personality.

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[72] *Philosophy of Religion.*

[73] *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Book IV, Section 67.

[74] *Idea of God*, p. 45.

[75] *Conception of Immortality.*

At the same time, our physical organism, which alone can constitute our personality is constantly transforming itself by coming into greater and greater relation with the outer universe. The evolution of the exclusiveness of the individual into one of organic relation with the external, the development of the perceptual consciousness into the ideational, and the transformation of the selfish side of man into one of selflessness—all these point to the unity between Mind and Nature, between the Subject and the Object. Some nature "comes alive" in every self. Every self partakes in some degree of selves and experiences beyond its own centre. Thus it expands from its place in Nature and enlarges itself widely and deeply till it participates in the Absolute or Reality. The content of those selves and experiences is included in it. And hence the expansion not only "transforms its character, but brings about some degree of transmutation of that content. This transmutation renders possible the fuller realization of the Impersonal, of the Concrete Universal. One may say that one does not like or want such an Impersonal Stuff where he cannot recognize himself or the personality of the artist. But we scarcely recognize our personality or the personality of the artist when for a moment a Kālidāsa, a Shakespeare, or a Beethoven has laid his spell upon us. Still we experience them in the best moments of our existence. It is the aesthetic experience of such an impersonal art that can make every one, in the memorable words of Plato, "the spectator of all time and of all existence"[76].

[76] *Republic.*

SUGGESTION—A POETIC THEORY

By KUMARI BHAKTI SUDHA MUKHOPADHYAYA

SUGGESTION has occupied a very important place in Sanskrit poetics and all have been charmed by its beauty. All and sundry, might have not recognised it expressly but somehow or other this is the thing which created beauty in poetry.

Now, what is suggestion? In suggestive poetry a further sense is conveyed to the mind of the reader enhancing thereby the beauty of the poem. It does not express anything new but reveals deeper and concealed meaning, which of course, is to be grasped by a *Sahṛdaya* or a man of refined taste and understanding. So, suggestion is capable of awakening gushing aesthetic pleasure in the reader's mind.

The theory of suggestion, has gained recognition in the Western countries too. Lascelles Abercrombie says, "Literary art will always be, in some degree, suggestion and the height of the literary art is to make the power of suggestion in language as commanding, as far-reaching, as vivid, as subtle as possible". For conveying the finest type of imagination into the reader's mind the author must rely on the reader's ability to respond to what his language suggests. Of course, there exists the poetry of expressed sense but that of the unexpressed has an attractive charm, that the poet exercises to captivate the mind of the reader. The latter happens to secure more heart-gripping effect than the former, as a half-blossomed flower appears very beautiful, lovely, charming and fascinating when compared with a flower in full bloom. So an expression of expressed sense sounds humdrum and trite

when compared with the suggested sense which is always catching, decent and delicate. The beauty of such expression lies in not letting the fact, feeling or emotion and imagination out in words, but having let the reader to imagine it by some hints or symbols. Art lies in the concealment of art—in giving a mystic touch to it. In *Macbeth* there is a short expression, made by Lady Macbeth, suffering from an intense mental agony—as she is a prey to Nemesis. Her anguish sallies forth in her words 'all the perfumes of Arabia cannot sweeten this little hand. Oh, oh, oh!' The poet here does not give a verbal description of her suffering from the inexpressible, intolerable and indefinable torture but those three interjections, poured out from the very core of her heart, lead us, persuade us, to appreciate the agony of this mental wreck.

There is a story by the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, 'The Story of the Bathing Ghat'. Here one Sannyāsin happened to come across his long-separated consort whom he had deserted at a very young age, out of the call of renunciation. She recognised him when she chanced to see him and offered her love to him. Now it was a very critical position indeed! The man in him, in all likelihood, was about to raise a banner of mutiny within him and it required a great Stoicism, a strict control of emotions, a stern self-immolation to refuse the love of a beautiful young lady, who was his own lawfully wedded wife but with much self-control and austere asceticism the Sannyāsin tides over the impetuosity of his feelings. Some struggle went on within him when she was asking for love from him and to control himself, to keep calm and poised in such crisis and conflict, to have his frame in stead-fast position, he pressed the slab of the ghat mightily with his toe. Has the poet here clothed all his idea in words? No. He only says Kusum said this and the Sannyāsin acted so. That is all! And all the idea is

brought home with a master-stroke of this! What a subtle delicate and wide suggestion does it convey!

A certain movement of eyebrows or wrists or fingers, a short expression with a certain tone and accent, certain pose and gestures have a great significance hidden behind, in suggestion[1]. The actual fact or emotion, though not relished by a common and cursory reader, has a great appeal to the emotion of a man out of common—a man of refined taste and no sooner the beauty of sense comes through the medium of *Dhvani* (suggestion) than the reader is charmed by its transcendental charm and romance. The aesthetic pleasure conveyed by suggestion is too subtle and of mystical nature for the average man, therefore, escapes the range of his comprehension and only the cultured man is entitled to realise and relish the suggested sense. Having known this fact, Sanskrit poeticians gave it a very prominent place and high and exalted position. There is a very beautiful example explaining the beauty of suggestion and its difference from the expressed meaning. It is as fallows :—

एवंवादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी।
लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती॥

How beautifully Kālidāsa has depicted the bashfulness of Pārvatī without mentioning the word 'bashfulness'. Pārvatī is of adolescent age, a girl मुग्धा, according to Sanskrit poetic convention. She is ashamed at the talks of देवर्षि and having been overwhelmed by the sense of shame, affects that she is engaged in doing something other (counting the petals of her sport-lotus) than listening to Devarṣi's talks. What a beautiful idea is conveyed to the reader, without being expressly mentioned! What a pictorial effect is secured by such brief expression! A

[1] *Kāvya Prakāśa*, 2. 11. with *Sudhāsāgara Tilaka* Ed. Sar. Bhavan Series, Banaras.

blushing blooming girl is overwhelmed by the sense of modesty, and handles the petals of her lotus pretending to count them. How charming! What a nice and subtle suggestion of a psycho-physiological action of a certain emotion! Can this effect be produced, this charm be created by the expression—

कृते वरकथालापे कुमार्यः पुलकोद्गमैः ।।
सूचयन्ति स्पृहामन्तर्लज्जयावनताननाः ।।

Can the sweetness, the delicate flavour of the former be found in the latter? Certainly not. Still the poet here has made a comprehensive effort to convey the sense manifestly by means of words. He says when there is a talk about the bridegroom girls have horripilation on their person and express craving with their faces downcast by modesty. Both the poets want to depict modesty—a sweet and delicate emotion of mind, but as to the enjoyment of emotion the concealed sense triumphs over the expressed one; it is more beautiful and successful.

Sometimes facts are brought through figures and the suggestion is called वस्तुध्वनि at times figures or fine imaginative moods are brought through facts. The example of the former would be

आपृच्छस्व प्रियसखममुं तुंगमालिंग्य शैलं
वन्द्यैः पुसां रघुपतिपदैरंकितमेखलासु ।
काले काले भवति भवतो यस्य संयोगमेत्य
स्नेहव्यक्तिश्चिरविरहजं मुञ्चतो वाष्पमुष्णम् ।।

The famous ध्वनि school was started by Ānandavardhana and later on was taken up by Abhinavagupta to delineate it more beautifully, to elaborate it having carried it on along with the रस school.

He defines ध्वनि as something different from the denoted sense like the grace and charm of a beauty

which is not to be found in any particular limb but which is beyond the beauty of different limbs.[2]

There are three types of ध्वनि named—वस्तुध्वनि, अलंकारध्वनि and रसध्वनि. Through the former some unexpressed fact is conceived, the middle one suggests some subtle engaging and excellent imaginative mood and the last conveys an emotional mood to the reader.

The above verse is the example of the first type of suggestion. The second variety is where charming figures as उपमा, व्यतिरेक, विरोध etc. are suggested by a certain statement. (For example, some attributes of इन्द्र are attributed to a king whereby it is suggested that he is equal in power with Indra and thus serves the purpose of a simile.) The famous verse एवम्वादिनि etc. is the typical example of रसध्वनि or an emotional mood suggested.

Suggestion is of two kinds: (1) the expressed sense of which is totally neglected and (2) the expression which along with its expressed meaning involves some other remote sense, adding peculiar charm to the expression. The first type of suggestion is based upon लक्षण because it totally neglects the expressed and conveys something new, sometimes going to the length of conveying an opposite sense and is known as अविवक्षितवाच्य. The second type is known as विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्य because the expressed sense here is transferred to something else like in the expression 'he is fortunate, whose friends are friends, whose enemies are enemies etc.' Here friends and enemies bring the sense of 'reliability' and 'reprehensibility'. It is again sub-divided into two divisions: the suggestion of perceptible process or संलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग and that of imperceptible process or असंलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग. We find वस्तुध्वनि (the suggestion of unexpressed thought or idea) and अलंकारध्वनि (an unexpressed imaginative mood that can be turned or shaped into a

[2] *Dhvanyāloka*. 1, 4 Nir. Sagara Press Edn.

figure) and these are suggested by figure and fact in turns. Here the process is easily and clearly perceived but in the second variety of suggestion the process is not direct and vividly visible. The suggested element here, that is, the भाव or रस can never be grasped or relished without ध्वनि and therefore suggestion is the only means of *rasa*-realization.

Ānandavardhana started the famous ध्वनि school. There were some schools which did not tolerate it and were out to repudiate it. Some did not accept it on the ground that they could not comprehend it and so went so far as to deny it altogether.

So, Ānandavardhana took upon himself the task of repudiating the opinions of his adversaries. He says that a word has got two meanings : one denoted and therefore direct, and another indirect which comes home to us in a round about way. He says that in this way, there comes some peculiar far-off sense and this out-of-the-way expression has a great and deep significance within it. Thus the delicate sense, the flavour of an aesthetic emotional mood is relished, though not having come directly from the denotation of a word. A word while containing the suggested sense becomes the receptacle of suggestion.[3]

Had it been so that the meaning is to be derived from the word only (i.e. the denoted sense is all-in-all) how is it that some subjective element of रस is relished by us? Experience tells us that it is never derived from word.[4] If विभाव, अनुभाव etc., are not mentioned, there can be no emotional realization of love at all even though there is the word श्रृंगार etc.; on the contrary, रस or sentiment is relished if it is roused by विभाव, अनुभाव, etc., even though

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[3] *Dhv.*, I. 28.

[4] *Ibid*. p. 24.

there is not a single word as शृंगार and the like. (A beautiful line from the lyric of a famous Bengali Vaiṣṇava poet is 'the blue *sārī* goes off wringing my heart again and again'. How beautifully the line serves the purpose of bringing into relief the poet's intense love-yearning when he sees his lady-love, in blue garment, pass by him while she is out of his reach. What an indefinable lyric rapture does it convey !) So it is clear, that those give rise to suggestion which again bring about the peculiar emotional realization.

The denoted sense depends upon the knowledge of the word and its meaning but suggestion is comprehended by people who have cultivated a certain taste, a certain bias of mind.[5] To an unfeeling man this has no effect at all. Often times, we happen to see such spectators of a dramatic representation as are quite unfamiliar with the medium or totally ignorant of it yet appreciate and enjoy the main sentiments by means of the accessory things (or stimulants) known as विभाव, अनुभाव and संचारि or व्यभिचारिभावs. Now suggestion or ध्वनि is the only possible vehicle for conveying the sentiment and its relish. Why, does it happen so if denotation is the only sense ?

It is argued that it is not proper to accept a novel theory with reference to the poetical canon (i. e. the theory of suggestion was not expressly acknowledged by any extant orthodox school). In reply to this argument, Ānandavardhana says that even though our predecessors have made no reference to suggestion, in theory, they have not still raised a placard of 'no admission' against suggestion in the literary field. To tell the truth, it was carried on practically by them, instead of being given definite name and form theoretically. The epic रामायण our pre-historic literature, too, supports this view. The ancient poet was

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[5] *Ibid*, v. 7.

moved to see the touching scene of the cruel killing of the male क्रौञ्च by a fowler and to hear the heart-rending wailing of its consort. He cursed the fowler as: "Oh fowler, you shall never attain peace and security as you have killed one from the क्रौञ्च pair, rapt in love"[6]. Here we find the विभाव क्रौञ्च, अनुभाव its crying and thus the sentiment of pathos is suggested through the verse. Sentiment or रस being the end of poetry and suggestion having been proved its only means it is regarded by ध्वनिकार as the soul of poetry.[7] A verse, which had its origin in वाल्मीकि's शोक or pathos or sorrow, is termed श्लोक as it brought out the suggested sentiment.[8] His pathos is described in words yet it is conveyed! So we see that even in those days suggestion did prevail.

Suggestion is not irrespective and independent of the denoted sense. The concealed sense revealed by suggestion engenders from nothing other than denotation and by taking the classical illustration of the मीमांसकs and other philosophers, the ध्वनिकार says that the denoted sense stands to the suggested one in the same relation as a lamp does to a jar[9] (in fact, it already exists but is revealed when the lamp lights it). According to him one cannot dispense with the denoted sense because it is a means to the end of literary art—suggestion. The beauty of literature comes through the gateway of ध्वनि.

The grammarians are the most ancient scholars प्रथमे हि विद्वांसः. The ध्वनिकार to corroborate his view, says that even they had accepted ध्वनि, in some form or other. When the veil of letters is removed by ध्वनि they say, the eternal sound concealed so long (i. e. the स्फोट) reveals itself.[10] Thus the view of वादिन्s or sceptics is refuted.

[6] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa II. 14 and 15.

[7] *Dhv*. Locana I. 5. pp. 26-27.

[8] R. XIV. 70.

[9] *Dhv*. I. 9.

[10] *Ibid*, Locana p. 47.

Those who are अन्तर्भाववादिन्s or include ध्वनि in अलंकार or figures of speech etc., they also are not in the right. Suggestion is to be taken as a genuine one when it is vivid, is a separate identity and is not to be subordinated to anything else. But this is not the case with figures like समासोक्ति, आक्षेप etc. In समासोक्ति we find the denoted sense prevails as in the verse—

उपोढ़रागेन विलोलतारकं तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम् ।
यथा समस्ततिमिरांशुकतया पुरोऽपि रागाद् गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥

However charming may be the expression, ("as the lover Moon, with his love sentiment intensified caught hold of the face of the beloved Night etc."), here, the denoted sense is more predominant as the moon reddish in colour has arisen at the time of dusk etc. In spite of its power to bring out some charm of suggestion of heart-gripping nature the idea of nightfall has great emphasis on our mind, therefore the suggested sense is subordinated to the denoted one. In *ākṣepa* also though some other meaning is implied by the peculiar expression yet the suggested sense is suppressed and the denoted idea comes, at first to the mind for example, there is the verse.

अनुरागवती संध्या दिवसस्ततः पुरस्सरः ।
अहो दैवगतिः कीदृक् तथापि न समागमः ॥

Here the suggested sense of the lover and the beloved in longing does not catch our mind so much as the idea of day dwindling with its twilight hues. The latter sense is here more charming and impressive and powerful. In दीपक and अपह्नुति also though *upamā* is suggested in either case still that is not vivid. So, these are not ध्वनि proper at all and there is no possibility of ध्वनि being recognized even when it is merged into the denoted sense of अलंकार. On the contrary पर्यायोक्त has got suggested sense prevailing in it. Here, also, we should not take ध्वनि as included in the figure but the figure itself must be included in ध्वनि.

So, in spite of having suggestion within it, the poetry of subordinate suggestion is within the province of अलंकार and pure suggestion is something quite different.

In संकर when two ideas co-exist and are equal in power there also the same method should be applied and where one अलंकार is subordinate to another there also is no question of ध्वनि.

Genuine suggestion should be acknowledged where a certain excellence is produced in the statement by doing so and it is not to be recognized anywhere else. Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that ध्वनि does surely and certainly exist in its own independent particular sphere—thus concludes Ānandavardhana.

It is said that व्यंजना or ध्वनि is identical with लक्षणा but Ānandavardhana says it is a wrong view. लक्षणा is to be made by उपचार or indication. It means taking some secondary meaning as taking the word 'current' for the 'bank'. So it cannot be identical with व्यंजना because लक्षणा has its primary meaning discarded and accepts a secondary one which is to serve some special purpose and व्यंजना is quite distinct from this व्यंजना may be based on लक्षणा yet its characteristic is different from that of the latter. A लक्षणा must have some direct connection with the denoted sense and व्यंजना enjoys a greater scope, even it can suggest some quite opposite sense according to the context.[11] The example would be

उपकृतं बहु यत्र किमुच्यते
सुजनता भवता प्रथिता परम्।
विदधदीदृशमेव सदा सखे
सुखितमास्व सदा शरदः शतम्॥

Besides, there is always some particular motive behind लक्षणा, for bringing about the indication but व्यञ्जना has got no motive behind. Its meanings are changed only to

[11] *Kāvya Prakāśa* III. 21-22.

give off some striking excellent and agreeable idea but in लक्षणा the primary meaning must be discarded and the introduction of a new sense cannot be helped.

Some say that the purpose of suggestion is served by indicating the indicated sense again. For instance, in गंगायां घोषः we find गंगा leaves the character of water or current and takes up that of the bank by indication and we usually come to the conclusion of coolness, sacredness etc., by suggestion, to serve some general purpose. They say that this purpose is to be served by indicating again the sense indicated 'bank' already. That means गंगा being re-indicated is capable of bringing about the sense of coolness, sacredness etc. The author of the ध्वन्यालोक points out to the fatal defect of this theory i. e. अनवस्था or *ad infinitum* will result from this. If the indicated sense is to be indicated once more to convey the sense of 'coolness', 'sacredness' in the case of गंगायां घोषः why then should it not be indicated again and again whenever occasion demands it? Moreover, at the first time there was the necessity of introducing the sense of 'bank' and discarding 'the current' due to incompatibility of the cowherd being raised on the current of गंगा. But there is such a necessity in the present case! The ध्वन्यालोक says that in a लक्षणा, a secondary meaning is to be accepted with a certain purpose in view but not unnecessarily, because, the primary meaning is greatly forceful and powerful and cannot be dropped off without any reasonable ground.[12] One cannot go on leaving the denoted sense and inventing new meanings according to one's sweet will.

Again, there is the risk of अतिव्याप्ति or अव्याप्ति by admitting लक्षणा to be the same as व्यञ्जना. If only the divergence of meaning from the denoted sense, is the

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[12] *Dhv*. I. 20.

ground for व्यञ्जना, then it may creep in inspite of there being no scope for the peculiar charm or beauty of suggestion. There is a statement that the scorched lotus-leaf tells that she lay on it. Here the word 'tells' is to be construed as 'indicates' by लक्षणा or गुणवृत्ति and therefore, it is not a व्यञ्जना. Similarly, in the saying 'a sugarcane undergoes pain for other's gain', undergoing or feeling pain is an indication but never a suggestion.

The ध्वन्यालोक says the excellent sense that is not possible to be conveyed through any other form of expression, is conveyed through the unexpressed, and this is suggestion.[13]

Having discussed the foregoing arguments we can easily and safely conclude that लक्षणा cannot be taken as identical with व्यञ्जना.

After Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa has undertaken the task of establishing ध्वनि and to do so added some more arguments. He says that some might say that the indication itself results in some quality like coolness etc. and thus serves the purpose of व्यञ्जना. Mammaṭa argues that this cannot be supported because the sense of cognition and its resultant feeling do not come simultaneously.[14]

Some opine that it is the function of अभिधा only which stretches itself further and further.[15] It is quite impossible because अभिधा gets exhausted after denoting its sense once. Though sometimes they do change their meanings yet they are determined by the context. Moreover, if अभिधा is so powerful that it can include each and every kind of meaning then what is the need of recognizing लक्षणा at all? So, 'the denoted sense includes suggestion within it.'—is a groundless argument.[16]

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[13] *Ibid*, 28.

[14] *Kāvya Pr.* II. 18.

[15] *Ibid* V, p. 268.

[16] *Ibid*, p. 260.

Then Mammaṭa criticises the view of अभिहितान्वयवादिन्s and अन्विताभिधानवादिन्s, two schools of the मीमांसा system, which are dead against व्यञ्जना. A little scrutiny will find out that the upholders of these schools also recognize something more than the denoted sense. For instance, in अभिहितान्वय the meanings of words are expressed at first and then they are connected with a different शक्ति or power known as तात्पर्य. In this connection the theory attributed to Dhanañjaya, too, would not be irrelevant. Dhānika, who has made सूत्रs on Dhanañjaya's verses and thus made the whole text of the दशरूपक, states succinctly the theory of ध्वनि (though not recognized by himself) as expounded by Ānandavardhana giving the same illustrations and citing his definitions and classifications. He also brings the suggestive function under तात्पर्यशक्ति or the intention of the speaker. In ordinary language judgement arises from a sentence that is determined by the circumstances in which it is uttered and it is always conveyed by the nature of some क्रिया or action.[17] Similarly, in poetry love, pathos etc., lying always dormant in the mind of the reader, are awakened by the विभाव, अनुभाव etc. and they represent the judgement—वाक्यार्थ. The sentiment or रस is revealed to the reader in this way. If जलं, द्वारं etc. are said, the intended word must come up afterwards, as आनय, पिधेहि and so on. Though not expressed they are intended and so come up when necessary through the context. Language is employed here only to induce some one to activity, e.g. when the teacher utters 'fetch the book' the pupil should not only understand the sense but have some immediate activity. So तात्पर्य comes through the denoted sense and becomes equal to suggestion. Here the relation between poetry and रस is not, as the author of the ध्वन्यालोक says

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[17] *Daśa-Rūpaka*, IV. p. 154.

that of the suggestor and the suggested but of cause and effect.[18] रसs are present in the mind of the cultured people and they are relished or enjoyed by the efficient cause—poetry.

With reference to तात्पर्यशक्ति Mammaṭa says that it is not given solely to some particular form or individual thing, because the individual only being regarded to have the denoted sense there is the risk of व्यभिचार. So the particular form is denoted in association with generality and thus something other than the particular is accepted.[19]

To अन्विताभिधान also a different sense is to be added. Here different expressed meanings are not connected together by a different शक्ति but each individual meaning is connected with the other and thereby denotes a different meaning that results from the connected words that form वाच्य or a sentence. Here also the meaning does not consist in the particular but in the particular that is overshadowed by generality.[20] Thus a sense other than the denoted one is acknowledged in both the cases. It is said that वाचक must be determined by वाच्य and there is no possibility of other sense than वाच्य. This also is not a sound view because the relation of वाचक with the वाच्य is not fixed everywhere. It cannot be said definitely whether वाचकs are the cause of वाच्य or the inferer of it.[21]

Then Mammaṭa proceeds to cite examples of many rituals and secular statements that convey a remote sense which cannot be explained without suggestion. 'Take poison, don't eat at his home' must not be taken literally but should be explained away as 'it is better to take poison than taking food at such man's place'. A statement should be construed according to the context and as the

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[18] *Ibid* (with *Prabhā* ṭikā), p. 258.
[19] *Kāvya Pr.* V. p. 262.
[20] *Ibid*, p. 264.
[21] *Ibid*, p. 267.

above admonition comes from a friend it must convey the above meaning but not everywhere. If अभिधा prevails everywhere why does the sense differ in different cases ?[22]

Moreover, even वेदान्तिन्s—who regard that the meaning of a sentence is to be comprehended through single indivisible cognition and that must be denoted—have to acknowledge some other meaning with reference to the empiric world or when under Illusion.[23]

Then comes the theory of Mahimabhaṭṭa. He argues that the sense comes through inference not through suggestion. There is a certain statement as follows : ' Roam about, O virtuous one, because frequenting the river-bank has been killed by the lion '. By the knowledge of साध्य, साधन and पक्ष, the followers of the school of inference come to the conclusion that so and so should not go to the place as the dog moving about there has been killed by the lion. Here the death of the dog is साधन and the साध्य is the insecurity and danger prevailing over the place. The whole statement signifies the man must not go there because he is a coward dreading even a dog and it is clear that he must keep away from there as the dog who used to chase the lion away is now dead. Mammaṭa says that it is not an अनैकान्तिक inference. Suppose, the man due to his inherent disposition cannot bear the sight of a dog but can easily encounter a lion. Besides, a coward also sometimes gives up all cowardice when he is in love or under the command of the teacher. Finally, the statement is made here by a woman of bad character and, therefore, cannot be relied upon.[24]

In our poetics we even find fault with many words and syllables because placed in a particular order they

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[22] *Ibid*, p. 271.
[23] *Ibid*, p. 302.
[24] *Ibid*, p. 303.

convey some remote disagreeable sense and we try to avoid it. Why is it so? If we are not to acknowledge the unexpressed all together why should we be careful in the arrangement of words and syllables lest such unpleasant senses come through them.[25] If the denoted meaning is the only sense conveyed, then why these precautions?

Even a bare statement can bring some far-off sense according to time, place, addressee, addressed etc. and this fact cannot be denied by anybody. For example, 'the sun is set', this simple expression brings different sense to different persons.[26] How is it to be explained if the denoted sense is the only sense? So, having considered all these pros and cons, it can be easily and unhesitatingly concluded that there is a concealed sense behind the denoted one known as ध्वनि or व्यञ्जना or ***Suggestion***, provided that it brings a delicate excellent sense.

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[25] *Ibid*, p. 271.
[26] *Ibid*, p. 288.

TWO SHORT HISTORICAL NOTES*

By Ratnachandra Agrawala

I

Some Early Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions on Silk from Chinese Turkestan

The discovery of certain Central Asian silk fragments with *Brāhmī* and *Kharoshṭhī* inscriptions on them has presented very interesting evidence about the use of textiles as writing material as early as the first century B. C. or A. D.[1] Such textile pieces include small strips letters and envelopes used in daily transactions both by the persons living in Loulan and Tun-huang and Indian merchants visiting the western borders of China at so early a date.

At one end of the silk strip from Tun-huang there appears, written in bold upright Śaka or Kuṣāṇa *Brāhmī* characters, a short inscription which was read by M. Boyer as (*ai*) *shṭasya paṭa gishṭi shapariśa*.[2] Perhaps it refers to

* *List of Abbreviations used*:

I. No. Or KI	=*Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein, in Chinese Turkestan*, Oxford, Vols. I, II, III (Text only).
II. Trans	=Burrow. T. *A Translation of the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1940), London.
III. Language	=Burrow. T. *The Language of the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1937), Cambridge.
IV. JNSI	=*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.
V. JRAS	=*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of London*.
VI. BOSOS	=*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London.

[1] The use of silk as a writing material for books in China is mentioned by a number of writers of 4th or 5th Century B.C. frequently with the implication that it was used much earlier. For details consult A. H. Hummel in the *Journal of American Oriental Society*, LXI, 1941, pp. 73-4.

[2] Cf. A. Stein, *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume 1923, pp. 376 ff.; *Serindia*, III, 1921 Oxford, pp. 700 ff.

some *paṭa*[3] (silk roll), 46 *gishṭi*[4] in length. Sten Konow[5] reads the above passage as *srirashṭrasa paṭa dhishṭi chaparisa*[6]. Konow thus likes to improve upon the reading (*ai*) *shṭa* and feels himself unable to ascertain whether the word indicated the name of the country of origin or of the owner of the silk roll. This much is evident from the context that inscription noted on the silk piece served as a sort of some memorandum[7].

As regards *Kharoshṭhī* documents on silk,[8] nos. 697 and 708 are letters or orders on fine silk. Of these, the latter does not convey any sense while the former consists of only two lines:

(i) *Bhaṭariy*(*ā*)*e michga parso*(*āe*) *vyalidavo kumudvati prahi*—

(ii) *ta yirka*[9] 4.1. Here reference is made to the despatch of 5 *yirka* or *śirka* by a certain lady called Kumudvatī. Prof. Rapson[10] is of the opinion that " if the form *śirka* can be justified, Sir A. Stein has ingeniously suggested that it may represent the Chinese word from which Greek 63

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[3] A great controversy hangs about the exact interpretation of this word. Burrow (*Language* and *Trans*) identifies *paṭa* with a " roll of silk " while F. W. Thomas (*BSOS*, XI, pp. 546-8) is against this interpretation.

[4] i.e. 46 spans; cf. my article 'A Study of Weights and Measures as depicted in the Kharoṣh·hī documents from Chinese Turkestan, *JBRS*, XXXVIII, pp. 366-8, 496; *BSOS* XI, pp. 546-8.

[5] In his article 'Note on the Inscription on the Silk-strip' published in the *Sino-Swedish Expedition Publication*, no. 7 Archaeology, Stockholm, 1939, pp. 231-4).

[6] I am very much thankful to my friend Śrī. A. K. Narain, University of Banaras, for supplying me the text.

[7] This practice is followed by Indian cloth merchants these days also when they note down the size and price of a particular roll of cloth on one end of it.

[8] i. e. Doc. Nos. 697, 708, 756. The text is published in *KI*, pp. 261, 266, 281 respectively.

[9] Śirka also as an alternate reading. Cf. *Serindia*, p. 677 f. n. 33.

[10] *KI*, III, p. 308.

Pikόν and our silk are derived" but Burrow[11] doubts this suggestion of Stein.

As regards document no. 756, it is a small silk bag bearing 4 lines on obverse and 2 on reverse[12].

OBVERSE :

(i) *bhaṭariyae priyade (va)manusana*
(ii) *pichara sarva srṛva guna kalpa-*
(iii) *nasa p . . .ya maduae prahuḍa meyo*
(iv) *lahu manasi (ṃ)karo matra praharasa.*

REVERSE :

(i) *marega prahita yasoae*
(ii) *vyalidavo*

This record refers to the despatch of some present for a mother who is addressed in a very elegant style.[13] The use of private letters on silk and silken envelopes used for such communications is very well attested by the actual discovery of such objects bearing Chinese inscriptions of first or second century A. D.[14] Also an ancient king in India is stated to have written some letters on fine white cotton stuff and sealed them with red wax (*Life of Hiuen Tsiang*......, translated by S. Beal, 1911, London, p. 190)[15].

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[11] *Language*, p. 113.
[12] Cf. plate XVII of Stein's *Innermost Asia*.
[13] Cf. lines 1 and 2.
[14] Cf. *Serindia*, p. 700.
[15] But no such letter has yet been discovered on Indian soil.

II

Some Iranian Coin Terms in the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan

It was some fifty years ago that Sir A. Stein, during his archaeological explorations and excavations in Chinese Turkestan, was able to unearth[16] and bring to light from age long oblivion a huge collection of *Kharoshṭhī* documents. These records [17] (782 in number) are available in shape of wooden tablets, leather pieces, silk fragments, paper manuscripts etc. Pertaining to the everyday activities of the people in the contemporary society as these documents are, they throw sufficient light on the social, religious, political and economic conditions of the region in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

It is evident from the documents that taxes in Chinese Turkestan used to be paid in shape of animals, grains, ghee, wine, textile goods, fruits etc. Payments of milk fee in matters relating to adoption were exclusively made in animals. Still we find sufficient references to transactions (concerning sale and purchase both of movable and immovable property) being conducted in various indigenous and foreign coins as *muli*, *sadera*, *drakhma*, *dhane*, *masha* etc.

Greek coins as gold "staters"[18] and silver "drachms"[19] have been discussed by me in *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 103 ff. Of all the 782 documents, it is only in 3 documents that reference is made to *suvarna* "staters" as opposed to

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[16] At the ruined sites of *Niya*, *Endere* and *Loulan* which were once included in the Shan Shan kingdom (lying to the east of Khotan) in Chinese Turkestan.

[17] 764 documents have been edited in three volumes of *KI* while 18 more in *BSOS*.

[18] i.e. *Suvarna satera* (or *sadera*) in nos. 324, 43 and 419, cf. *BSOS*, VIII, p. 142, XIII, p. 129 ; *JRAS*, 1926, p. 507, 1930, p. 17.

[19] i.e. *Trakhma* (or *drakhma*) in nos. 324, 702. cf. *BSOS*, XIII, pp. 128-9.

simple "stater"[20] in no. 702 i.e. *dhane* 1 *maricha dhane* 3 *śimgavera drakhma* 1 *pipali drakhma* 2 *tvacha dhane* 1 *sushmela dhane* 1 *śakara sadera* 4.

As regards *trakhma*, it is associated with *suvarna satera* only in no. 324 (i. e. *suvarna satera* 2 *trakhma* referring to the award of these coins by a certain person *Vasu Yonu* (perhaps of Greek origin). It is only in a solitary document no. 702 that we find the form *drakhma* and that too associated with *dhane* and simple *sadera*. To me it appears that all these were Persian silver coins associated together in no. 702.

As regards *suvarna sateras* (or *saderas*) the epithet *suvarna* suggests that they were identical with the famous Greek gold "staters." It is interesting to note that in ancient Indian[21] epigraphs and literature, the epithet *suvarna* is conspicuous by its absence. How to account for this *suvarna* only in Chinese Turkestan then? It appears that Indians who happened to introduce Greek gold "staters" and "drachms" in Chinese Turkestan[22], perhaps found the Central Asian people in the know of some "staters" made of some metal other than gold. That might have led them to feel the necessity of demarcating gold "staters" from other "staters." The existence of silver "staters" is well known both to the numismatist[23] and the ancient writers. "Stater" also survived into Uiger Turki for in a document[24] literary reference is made to "6 *satir* of

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[20] Cf. *Suvarna sadera* of no. 419. *Sadera* also occurs in Armenian (Thomas F. W.), *JRAS*, 1926, p. 507.

[21] Cf. my paper in *J NSI*, XV, pt. II (under print). Abbreviated forms of "stater" and "drachm" occur in three *Kharoshṭhī* inscriptions from Taxila; *satera* as such in the Gaṇitasāra *Saṃgraha* of Mahāvīra Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-kosa-vyākhya* (Tibetan version, commentary) and the Jain work the *Aṅgavijja*.

[22] Cf. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1926, p. 507 note 1; S. Konow, *Acta, Orientalia*, VI, pp. 255-6; Tarn. W. W., *The Greeks in India and Bactria* I edition, pp. 85 ff.

[23] Barclay. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 1911, Oxford, pp. 507, 826 etc.

[24] Purchased by German Expedition of 1902-3, Munich Academy as cited by Thomas, *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

silver." *Satir* needs to be compared with Mid. West Iranian styr[25].

The Pahlavi works furnish the following information regarding Persian silver "staters" and their smaller denominations in the same metal[26].

4 silver *dāng* =1 silver *dirham*
4 silver *dirham* =1 silver *stir*.

It will not be too much if we like to identify *sadera* (no. 702) with *stir* of Pahlavi works.

It may be well argued that *sadera* in no. 702 was written (instead of *suvarna sadera*) as a result of the mistake of the scribe of the document. But such was not the case. People in Shanshan kingdom were very particular while referring to *suvarna* "staters". From document no. 431-2 we learn that a certain person when asked for a *suvarna sadera*, refused to pay the coin for he had no such coin with him. In his reply, he was very particular about the use of word *suvarna* (cf. *suvarna sadera* 1 *pruchhida suverna nasti*). He specifically said that "golden one" was not with him (*suvarna nasti*). Perhaps he had some other type of "stater" too in view which he could not pay when the demand was for the golden one. That person perhaps could well afford to miss the word *sadera* and not *suvarna* the latter being sufficient to convey the sense of a gold "stater". Also *sadera* cannot denote a gold "stater" otherwise we shall have to account for the purchase of sugar as much as worth 4 gold "staters". Our documents never refer to gold staters more than two in number even in matters relating to transactions (no. 419) concerning purchase of lands etc. Even a pot discovered (no. 43) by somebody yielded one gold "stater" and one *kampo*. Such was the paucity of gold "staters." Under these

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[25] Or *sater* as viewed by Dr. H. W. Bailey in *JRAS*, 1930 p. 7 and *BSOS*, VIII, p. 142.

[26] Dhalla, M. N., *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 1922, New York, p. 357.

circumstances it was out of question to have sugar purchased for 4 gold "staters".

Dhane, *drakhma* and *sadera* (as referred to above) were of course not widely current in Chinese Turkestan. Their use was perhaps resorted to very seldom and that too when the persons dealing happened to be of similar (Persian in no. 702) leanings and affinities.

In document no. 702, the correspondent seems to be so much conscious of his Persian associations that he ignores even a slight reference to *mulis*[27] so widely used in the contemporary times.

In document no. 702 under survey, certain objects as spices including peppers, ginger etc., and sugar were to be sent on the eve of a child's birth in the house of the correspondent. The latter, who happened to be a *Chuvalayina*[28], had requested the addressee (his father who was a *Guśura*[29]) to supply the above objects worth price noted against every commodity. Moreover, the objects were to be sent through somebody and as such *dhane*, *drakhma* and *sadera* do not seem to have been weight denominations as has been pointed out by Drs. T. Burrow[30] and H. W. Bailey[31] Also Dr. Bailey[32] puts forth an argument that "in Khotanese *saira*, *sera* (the latter form of *satera* occurs)" and that "the list is certainly a medical list". But since the objects referred to in the list (no.

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[27] From no. 419 it appears that 2 *mulis*+1 gold "stater"=12 *mulis* i.e. 1 gold "stater"=10 *mulis*. Thus my earlier suggestion *J. N. S. I.* XIV, p. 105) stands cancelled.

[28] Persons holding such titles were quite respectable in the society. Cf. *Language*, p. 90.

[29] Dr. Burrow (*Language*, p. 87) states that *gusura* denotes N. Pers. *vazir* (=minister) or *guzir*. H. W. Bailey (*BSOS*, XIII, p. 393 as intimated by him in a personal note) seeks to associate the word with *vispura*.

[30] *Trans*, p. 141.

[31] *BSOS*, XIII, p. 128, *JRAS*, 1930, p. 142.

[32] In a personal note to me dated 19-4-53.

702) were to be brought by a certain person, it does not seem possible to agree with Dr. Bailey.

The document (no. 702) needs to be scrutinised still further. We have already noted the relation of silver coins as *dāng*, *dirham* and *stir*. *Drakhma*[33] of no. 702 now seems to have been the same as Persian silver coin *dirham* while *dhane* can well be associated with *dāng*. Comparing *dhane* with N. Pers. *dāng* (4th part of a *dram* as stated by Burrow, quoting Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary*) or Arabic L. W. *dānaq* or Pahl. *dāng* and originally *dānaka*[34] Dr. Burrow[35] suggests that *dhane* was :

(i) a debased form of N. Pers. *dānaka*, for -*e* in the *Kharoshṭhī* corresponds to —*aka*,

(ii) a loan word with *trakhma*,

(iii) a subdivision of *drachma*,

(iv) a small weight.

No doubt *dāng* denoted some measure of capacity or weight (Arm. L. W. *dāng* and *dānk* equal to two grams)[36] it was also a silver coin, one forth of a silver *dirham*. In that case it will be nothing exaggerating if *dhane* is equated to 1/4th of a *drakhma*. In no. 702 referred to above, maximum number of *dhanes* reaches three only (cf. *maricha dhane* 3). 3 *Dhanes* were decidedly less than one *drakhma*

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[33] Cf. Mid. Pers, *drhm* or *drahm*, N. Pers. *diram* (both a coin and a weight, *BOSOS*, XIII, pp. 128-9).

[34] It is very likely that *dhānaka* of Nārada, *Bṛhaspati* and *Kātyāyana Smṛtis* was also derived from N. Pers. *dānaka*. For *dhānaka* in *SKT.* literature consult Dr. A. S. Altekar, *JNSI*, I, pp. 1 ff ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, 1921, Calcutta, p. 189 ; Dr. Prana Nath, *A Study of Economic Conditions of Anicent India*, p. 90 n. 1.

[35] *Language*, p. 99, BSOS, VII, p. 783.

[36] Information as supplied by Dr. J. M. Unvala vide his personal letter dated 21-1-53.

F. W. Thomas (quoted in *KI*, III, p. 351) opined that *dhane* was a weight equal to Skt, *dhānya* but Burrow (*Language*, p. 99) disagrees with this view.

and hence reference to three *dhanes*. The close association of these terms thus tempts us to take *dhane*, *drakhma* and *sadera* as Persian coin denominations and not otherwise. The hypothesis based mainly on the study of a solitary document is not conclusive in fact. Only future discoveries may corroborate the results arrived at here.

WORK IN MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGE STUDIES

Bengali after 1948—*No.* 3

By AMAR MUKERJI

RAVINDRA JĪVANĪ O RAVĪNDRA SĀHITYA PRAVEŚAKA, VOL. 3 : by Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyaya ; Viśva-Bhārati Granthālaya, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta.

The third volume of Ravindra Jivani tells the story of the Poet's life between 1919 and 1934, one of the most complicated and productive periods. Tagore's several visits to Europe and America, during the period under survey provides the biographer with interesting material to pick and choose from : showing not merely the number of acquaintances the Poet made in the West and also the reception that he got in England and the States after he had renounced the knighthood. The founding of the Viśva-Bhārati is another striking episode falling within this period, and the subsequent story of Rabindranath's anxiety for it, his efforts at collecting funds and at securing the services of sacrificing yet eminent teachers—all these go to show an important aspect of the Poet's many-sided genius.

But perhaps the most significant information available for the first time in this book are five. One, that he made an extensive survey of comedy with reference to the dramatic achievements of Moliere at a celebration held on Feb. 17, 1922 (p. 93) ; two, that nearabout July 1930 he was writing a new kind of play in English for the film (p. 279) ; three, that the present version of *Śiśutīrtha* is considerably different from the earliest one (p. 303) ; four, that he had written a short account of the development of the Bengali novel (p. 302) with special reference to Saratchandra Chatterji and five, that he had made about 3,000 sketches and drawings.

With reference to most of these points one should have liked to get more information and the Viśva-Bhārati should either publish in full Rabindranath's discussion of Moliere and publish the new play or should deny their existence. In fact, it would have been better if instead of quoting extensively from the well-known material, the biographer had given some quotations from these to give us a fuller idea of their contents. Similarly more details about Tagore's meeting with the famous naturalist Hudson (p. 36) or of his visit to the Russian Theatre (p. 286) or of his reaction to a Wagner play (p. 52) would have solved many difficult problems of Tagorean criticism. In fact the biographer has left too many points unamplified while there are, for example, many unnecessary details which do not add to the merit of the book. The entire paragraph on Radhakrishnan on p. 275 could be summarised in one line and the long footnote no. 3 on p. 52 could have been abridged. To cite other instances: footnote no. 2 on p. 89 does not in any way help the statement referred to in the body of the text; and more precise information should have been given as to the date and page number of Dr. Stella Kramrisch's article on *Gitotshov*.

At another place (p. 73) the biographer has looked forward to a study of Rabindranath's philosophy: May I draw his attention to the two books by Dr. V. Narvane and H. Banerji in English and Bengali respectively?

Nobody can however but be grateful to Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyaya for the excellent work that he has done.

DĪNABANDHU MITRA—by Sushil Kumar De; A. Mukerji & Co. Ltd., Calcutta, pp. 91, Rs. 1/12.

This collection of Saratchandra Chatterji Lectures delivered at the Calcutta University in 1950 makes a systematic examination of the dramatic works of Dina-

bandhu Mitra with the intention of defending him against charges of grotesqueness, perversity, lewdness and morbidity hurled at him by certain critics.

For this purpose Dr. De first makes a study of the contemporary Bengali society drawing our attention to the peculiar social upheavel that overtook Bengal with the British impact; then, he analyses the development of the dramatic prose in Bengali; and finally comes to discuss the essentials of comedy with special reference to morality. Seen from the social angle Dr. De believes that it was but natural that Dinabandhu chose such themes for his plays while, if his prose dialogue was highly colloquial, it was but natural that it were so. But Dr. De argues out in detail that Dinabandhu's themes and dialogue together should not make one brand his plays as immoral even if the characters occasionally talk in a language that might be today considered vulgar. For the question of morality is "essentially allied to the spirit of tragedy" and the humourist "gazes only at the totality of the world's life". Hence some of the characters like Nime Dutt should not be seen from the viewpoint of ethics alone but rather from the angle that Dinabandhu saw life steadily and saw it whole—life that was such in a certain stratum of contemporary Bengali society. At best Dr. De's book gives out arguments to strengthen the remarks that Dinabandhu's contemporary Bankimchandra made years ago, though one does not easily agree with the high position that he had given to the dramatist.

Saratchandrer Pustak Ākarey Aprakāśita Rachanāvalī. Gurudas Chatterji and Sons, Calcutta; pp. 380; 1951.

Besides his stories and novels Saratchandra had contributed several essays and articles to the various Bengali

periodicals many of which were not of much standing. These essays reveal the thinker in Saratchandra and go a long way towards providing us with a critical apparatus for his novels and on their literary pattern; while many of the autobiographical statements are intended to provide solutions to some of the knotty problems of characterization in novels like *Śrīkanta* and *Caritrahīna*. Besides, some of the passages explaining Saratchandra's creative process, namely the one entitled *Bānglā Nāṭaka*, for instance, would provide the much needed material to the future critic of his works. The section entitled *Candananagorera Ālāpa Sabhāye* would definitely be a revelatory reading to all those who seek to know Saratchandra fully.

It need hardly be said that the present compilation of Saratchandra's not so well known works and unfinished novels would go a long way towards the formation of a proper estimate of Saratchandra the novelist.

SAHITYA PATHIKER DIARY—by Haraprosad Mitra; Gupta Prakasani, 8 Goopta lane, Calcutta 6; pp. 116,; Rs. 4/8; 1951.

In a book having many general opinions on various forms of literature, Bengali as well as English, the most valuable essay is on Bankim's miscellaneous prose where Shri Mitra has for the first time brought forth some interesting comparisons between the prose style of Bankim and that of Matthew Arnold. This great English critic and prose-writer was being read extensively in India and his *Culture and Anarchy* has the subject of much attention. Putting the dates together, Mr. Mitra establishes certain conclusions of far-reaching value attracting even the attention of Shri Atual Gupta. The other significant essay on Tagore's *Autobiography* does not contain any such remarkable revelation but establishes, none the less, certain

interesting similarities between the mood and setting of some other books Tagore was writing in that period. The other sections in the book though suggestive enough are on the whole scrappy.

PRĀCHĪN BĀṄGLĀ SĀHITYERA ITIHĀSA—by Tamonashchandra Dasgupta ; University of Calcutta ; pp. 763 ; Rs. 12. 1951.

To unravel all the mysteries of ancient Bengali literature now embedded in a maze of ancient social, political and cultural achievements is no easy task and the success of Dr. Dasgupta's achivement lies in doing it in spite of the very considerable work done by the late Dr. Dinesh Sen and then by Dr. Sukumar Sen and Manomohan Ghosh. Dr. Dasgupta's account starts with the geography of Bengal and the racial history of her people with special emphasis on the fact that towards the beginning of Bengali literature Bengal included considerable portions of Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Dr. Dasgupta traces the early literature of Bengal to the 8th century A. D. and in his opinion the ancient period of Bengali literature covers the period from 8th century A. D. to the 12th century A. D. The medieval period covers seven hundred years to 19th century A. D. Keeping the original sources in view, the impact of the various sectarian influences has been studied with special reference to Buddhism, Tantricism, Śaivaism and Vaisṇavism. The influence of the last mentioned school contributed to mould the Bengali literature in the 16th century A. D. The poets who emerge out of these influences like Kritivāsa, Kāśīrāmadāsa, Bhāratacandra, Candīdāsa and Mukundarāma receive close and scrutinising attention revealing not merely the traces of serveral new manuscripts but also suspecting several interpolations in the now accepted works. A clear-cut study of all these

facts and details enriches the book on which, however, the impact of Dineshchandra Sen's method and style is too clear to be overlooked.

BAṄGASĀHITYE NĀRĪ—by Brojendranath Bandyopadhyaya; Viśva-Bhārati, 6/3 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta, as. 8.

Towards the beginning of the 19th century the facilities for women's education were meagre in Bengal and educated ladies were to be found only in the richer section of society. But with the efforts of the missionaries Calcutta came to see several girls' schools which produced educated ladies. How some of these took to writing, how the first book written by a Bengali lady came to be published and how some other books written by them gradually appeared—these have been narrated in this brief outline of a history. The author (now unfortunately dead) has, moreover, given us a fairly comprehensive list of the various books that Bengali ladies wrote supplementing it with the biographical, bibliographical and other details whenever possible. The account starts with the first book of poems called *Cittabilāsinī* and then has proceeded to give us valuable information about Krisṇakāminī, Bāmāsundarī, Harakumārī, Rāmāsundarī and others of the former generation and of Svarṇakumārī, Prasannamoyī, Jñānodanandinī Saratkumarī, Mokṣādainī, Mānakumārī, Girīndramohinī, and others of the later 19th century. A few names of the first quarter of the present century have also been included, though another volume giving details of the present day writers would be necessary to bring the account up to date.

BĀLAKA-KĀVYA-PARIKRAMĀ—by Kshitimohan Sen ; A. Mukerji & Co. Ltd., Calcutta, pp. 215, Rs. 4-8.

This book can be divided into two parts : one, where Kshitimohan Sen has given his interpretation of certain aspects of Rabindranath's poetry specially with reference to Sanskrit poetry ; and two, where the poet himself explains the metrics of *Bālaka*, gives an introductory analysis of the group of poems which make up *Bālaka* and then explains these poems stanza-wise often adding a critical commentary. Naturally enough it is the second part of the book which is the more revealing and interesting, especially when his later interpretations of poems written about seventeen years earlier are coloured by the trend of his thought of the period beginning with 1927. The ever-growing awareness of a central creative urge and of the totality of a productive period are discernible in his attempt to view *Bālaka* as a link in the chain of his poetic creations ever seeking to establish by references to his earlier writings and his later ones that *Bālaka* should be taken as being at the apex of an intensely rich period. Incidentally enough the Poet's elucidations of his poems are replete with references both to his plays and his songs and dances, all the more establishing the fact that none of Tagore's works needs be taken in isolation from others.

On p. 39 of the book we find Tagore stating that in the drama he sought to establish a personal equation; on pp. 41, 87 and 173 he explains the bearings of Raja and Phalguni on his poetry as a whole; on p. 40 he states the position of songs in his plays ; and then on p. 77 he outlines the impact of Western dynamism on his thought. On an earlier p. 76 Rabindranath goes to the extent of acknowledging his peculiar debt to European literature and on p. 180 while discussing poem no. 29 of *Bālaka* he gives an intimate and minute analysis of the impact of modern science on his philosophy—should we call it ?—of dynamism.

On p. 42 we get a brilliant glimpse of his creative process.

But even such interesting revelations pale into insignificance before the very enthralling and perhaps intriguing explanations he gives of his poems. Rabindranath's stanza-wise clarification of the meanings of difficult poems like nos. 6, 7 and 8 specially lay bare some complicated ideas while, of course, his analysis of the meaning of the transcendence of art with reference to *Śāhajahān* should entail drastic re-consideration of some of the accepted opinions of today. To what extent Rabindranath had accepted the philosophy of Bergson and where he had rejected it will be evident from his analysis of poem no. 16 where the position of *Dākaghara* in his creative flow has been re-stated. The exact nature of relationship, in Tagore's universe, between Finite and Infinite will be better understood after reading p. 177 et seq. of this book.

One does, however, find two different statements with regard to the name of Tagore's host at Allahabad where he wrote *Śāhajahān* appearing on p. 23 and p. 68 of this book. Whether he was putting up with Pyarelal Banerij or Suprakash Ganguly should now be clearly decided. It would also have been better if the book contained a fuller comparative reference to notes that Pradyotkumar Sen published in the *Viśva Bhārati Journal* (p. 7).

SAMĀJ O SĀHITYA—by Kironkumar Sengupta; Presidency Library, 15 College Square, Calcutta, pp. 179, Rs. 3, (1951).

With an underlying emphasis on the impact of environment on literature, as is evident from the title of the book, Shri Sengupta devotes only five essays out of eleven to a study of Bengali literature directly. In the essay on modern Bengali novel he traces the beginning of subjecti-

vism and says how this, on many an occasion, had to face conflict with the contemporary social code. The moralist and fatalist in Bankim could never transcend the society that he was portraying: Rabindranath was the first to assert individualism in conflict with an age (as in *Gorā*); while Saratchandra made individualism a dynamic force that not merely joined issues with the demands of the extended social background depicted in his novels but rocked it, threw it overboard and then brought the rebellious society under its veritable control. The influence of modern psychology added strength to the dynamism of Saratchandra's characters thanks to the model Tagore had shown earlier in his *Chokher Bali.* The subsequent Bengali novel, Shri Sengupta believes, wavered between these two impulses: one, where the individual had developed into an egoist and is living in his own world of imaginative existence as in the novels of Dhurjatiprasad and Dilipkumar; and the other, where the environment has become the deciding factor, as in Gopal Haldar's works, in conditioning the individual.

From a slightly different angle Shri Sengupta finds the same process occuring in Nazrul Islam whose intense subjectivity was the outcome of his peculiar social awareness of an age in Bengal that was being torn by rival impulses. The love poems of Nazrul with their tilt melody when seen against his 'poems of revolt' reveal an interesting spectacle. Revolution he sought for both in personal and social life with a common flow of dynamism running through them all: from love to separation on an individual plane and from an overthrow of all accepted rules on the sooial plane. Shri Sengupta believes that Nazrul combined Byron's internal conflict with Keats's sensuousness and Shelley's idealism (p. 142) though none of Byron's satire, Keats 's sensitiveness and Shelley's dreaminess (p. 157). In fact Nazrul was too

restless to develop a view of life without which he could not become a great poet though he had great power.

In the essay on Pramatha Choudhury the author agreeing with Drs. S. Sen and S. K. Banerji in their assessment of the Birbali prose emphasises the paradoxical in it and then proceeds to trace the genesis of Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji's, Annadashankar Roy's and Buddhadeva Bose's style to it. Shri Sengupta's section on Rabindra-criticism suffers from the short-comings he had himself condemned at the beginning of his essay and does not contain any significant analysis of Tagore's style.

BANKIM-MĀNASA—by Aravinda Poddar; Indiana Ltd., 2/1 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta 12, pp. 170, Rs. 5, (1951).

Originally written as a doctoral dissertation, *Bankim-mānasa* breaks new ground by seeking to apply the principles of Marxian criticism to Bamkim's works. That it was not merely the outcome of Bankim's idealism but of the conflict of his idealism with the contemporary society is the subject matter of this study which breaks Bankim's creative period into three periods. The first, ending with *Mṛṇālinī* is characterised by the attraction that the British rule had for a certain section of the Indian people, specially in Bengal, who refused to touch the 'native' language and looked up to English as the standard; the second period witnessed a sharp reaction to the earlier phase of elation and was influenced by the slowly germinating ideas of nationalism; and the third period remarkable for its intense self-analysis, led to the creation and development of a balance. The novels of Bankimchandra, according to Dr. Poddar, easily fall into these three categories; the first period ending with *Mṛṇālinī*; the second with *Kamalā-kānter Daptar* and *Samya*; and the third reaching

its highest peak in *Ānandamaṭha* and ending with *Rājasiṁha*.

But maintains Dr. Poddar, the process of development was not easy ; it was fraught with all the intense self-examination that exists in a creative genius who having identified himself with certain forces, soon discovers that they are reactionary. Many such forces had in fact over-taken the social life of Bengal and whether it was free love or widow re-marriage or the demand of nationalism, Bankim's self-imposed test was at the counter of the Hindu moral code. The tragedy of *Viṣa-bṛkṣa* or *Devī Coudhurānī* is the tragedy of an ethical order imposed from above and the conflict that such an imposition is bound to result created difficult problems in Bankim's creative universe. In other words, it became the conflict between intellect and emotion, between society as it is and the society as it would have been. The outcome was a serious upheavel in Bankim's creative process manifesting itself not merely in his portrayal of characters but in the exact relationship of these characters with the environment in which they grow.

It was, says Dr. Poddar, a two-edged tussle : the tussle within himself, and that between himself and society ; the former intensified by the higher artistic demands of complete creative expression ; the latter prompted by the desire to determine the exact place of society in the regulation of human conduct. Besides, the personal problems of Bankim, his clash with the officials and with his brothers had their impact on the evolution of his idea in the form of novel and Dr. Poddar's analysis of these throw new light on the subject. With *Samya*, he maintains, Bankim came to evolve a harmony, a synthesis between the positivism of Comte and Hindu idealism (p. 102). And to render this synthesis in the novel Bankim adopted the method of masking his realism by an illusion (p. 90). The

romantic idealism of *Durgeśanandinī* makes room for the realistic heart-searching of Rājasiṁha. This was brought about, according to Dr. Poddar, by the demands of the age to which Bankim perforce reacted.

The impact of this clash is more than apparent in Bankim's dileneation of his persons, on the new society he creates and in the language that is spoken in this society. The emphasis on the individual is inclined to shift gradually to the society thanks to the impact of the British rule in India ; the unit called man is rocked by social impulses as well and the new society has succeeded in evolving a synthetic language too. The new naturalism is no more just a negative force but a positive instrument regulated, for Bankim, by his idealism. That he could never go over this faith, concludes Dr. Poddar, is at the source both of his success and faliure as an artist.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALFRED PARK, ALLAHABAD FOR 1951-1952

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ganganatha Jha Reserach Institute, I present the Annual Report for the year ending March 31, 1952.

OUR BUILDING PROGRAMME

Our main activity during the year was the extension of the building. We spent Rs. 7,538 10 as. 9 p. on it. Members will observe that we have now a better frontage and in the three rooms there is more accommodation. Two of these rooms will be for research students and one in the centre will have the proposed marble statue of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha to perpetuate whose memory and to further whose contribution to Indology in this holy city of Bharadwaj, this Institute was founded in 1943. The addition of these rooms will also enable us to hold meetings and group discussions. But they are not enough; they should lead on to the Reading Hall which is now proposed to be built behind them. Unless we build the Reading Hall we cannot provide ample facilities for the members as well as for the public to consult the books and the periodicals available here. At present we cannot risk the safety of our books and manuscripts by giving free access to them in our Library Halls. The Reading Hall must be therefore, constructed before long so as to make the Institute more useful.

Moreover, even these three rooms may be useless if they do not have the equipment—chairs, tables, racks and light. Their utility is not only marred but completely nullified till all this is provided.

All these things, however, require considerable expenditure. We have had very little as donation for the building this year and we were forced to take an overdraft of Rs. 18,622 6 as. 7 p. against our securities held in the Imperial Bank of India. This overdraft is our main headache at the moment. On the other hand, without at least completing our Reading Hall we cannot think of further furnishing our library with fresh and additional books and periodicals.

OUR LIBRARY OF BOOKS AND MSS.

Even as it is, our library contains quite a large number of rare and unique books and journals. These require to be properly catalogued and classified. While the printed books were entered on the accession register some-time ago, they could not be classified so far. The work has been much handicapped by the absence of a whole-time curator or librarian who could do the job quickly and keep on doing it as new books and journals arrive. The present paid staff is completely inadequate to do this very technical and scholarly work. Above everything else, the appointment of a paid curator is therefore very urgent.

Nevertheless, something has been done by the Hon. Secretary and the Research student in their spare hours. A modified Dewey System, suited to a specialised type of Indological library like our own, has been now adopted in consultation with the staff of the Allahabad Public Library. The books have been classified and they are in the process of being entered and numbered in our subject catalogue.

So far as the Mss Department is concerned, the task is much more difficult. About 1,500 Mss have been read, classified and tied in cloth up to this date. About an equal number remain to be classified and tied in cloth.

The reason for delay is obvious. Our Panditji is only a part-time worker and therefore cannot make much progress. Those who have handled worn-out and old Mss know very well that sometimes the mere task of disentangling and identifying even 2 or 3 Manuscripts from a single tattered bundle of hotch-potch in itself takes the whole day. In order that the existing Mss and the new arrivals should be salvaged from further deterioration and be speedily known to the scholarly world through a Descriptive Catalogue, it is very necessary that a whole-time worker should be put in the Mss section also. This year our effort has been to clean all—even the unclassified—Mss, spray them with D. D. T. and cover them with cardboards. A closed set of glass shelves is further necessary in order that they may be preserved better.

We added this year to our library all the 26 books which were received for review. Some rare books and old journals were purchased from Pt. Dakṣiṇāmūrti Shastri, and from the Southern India. Among our rare acquisitions there has been Stein Konow's *Tibetan Wall Paintings* and the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in India Office*. The number of Journals which we receive regularly either as exchange or as gift is 53. A list of these is given below as Appendix.

Among the foreign Journals that have accepted ours in exchange this year is the *Journal of American Oriental Society*.

During the year, an Officer of the National Library, Calcutta visited our library in search of books on Ancient Sociology and I am glad to report that he found 8 books here which he could not find anywhere else in the libraries of the whole of Northern India.

DONATIONS

As pointed out in our earlier reports, as the natural patrons of Indological studies have no more money left with them, on the virtual abolition of the princely

order and the zemindari system, institutions like ours must thrive mainly on the munificence and generosity of the Government in the States as well as in the Centre. Unfortunately, they are too busy with development programmes of a material and scientific nature. Yet, I am glad to report that the Central Government have taken note of the needs of the advanced studies in the humanistic sciences in the nation's Five Year Plan. This Institute also was required to send its needs and programmes of research. We have sent for the consideration of the Education Ministry our plan of writing and publishing a comprehensive History of Sanskrit Literature costing about Rs. 78,000/, as considered by one of our sub-committees under Dr. Tara Chand. The other day the Hon'ble Minister of Education observed in Parliament that he had received requests for the advancement of Sanskrit studies and that the Government were considering them. I hope the Government will be able to push our humble efforts in the service of national regeneration.

During the year under review we received the usual recurring grant of Rs. 1,000 and a non-recurring grant of Rs. 2,500 from the U. P. Government. This has been, however, very inadequate considering our expenditure on the building and our growing needs. We are very thankful to the Government for giving a personal Research Scholarship of Rs. 150 per month to Shri A. S. Nataraj Aiyyar, M. A., M. L. at the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute. From private sources we were able to secure Rs. 2,602 through the efforts of our active fellow-Member Shri Vibhutinatha Jha.

There cannot be any further expansion of our activities—indeed, as explained above, we cannot even carry on our present activities adequately, unless our finances are augmented. Our building must needs be completed even in part as explained above; our books, Mss and

journals augmented and better looked after; our library staff and equipment expanded; more money for publications and research scholarships given. I request you all, lovers of scholarship and culture, to do everything possible to procure more funds for us.

MEMBERSHIP

The total number of members of the Institute on the 31st March, 1952 was as follows.

	1951-52	Last year (1950-51)
Ordinary Members	83	90
Life Members	90	86
Benefactors	20	20
Honorary Members	10	10
Total	203	206

MEETINGS

There were only two meetings of the Executive Committee and on three occasions the business was transacted through correspondence.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year 448 pages of the *Journal* (Vol. VIII parts 1-iv) were published. In spite of our best efforts we were not able to make it up-to-date. We have published in our Journal some very controversial papers on the date of the Bharata War. I am happy to state that these papers have attracted scholars all around and there was a great demand of the issues in which they were published, so much so that some of the back numbers of our *Journal* are now out of stock. We, therefore, published extra copies of the articles on the subject as a separate booklet this year.

Another feature of our *Journal* has been an attempt to evaluate the research work being done in modern Indian languages. To start with, we have been able to secure contribution on Bengali only, but we hope we will be able to attract other language scholars too and in the end contribute to this important aspect of Indological studies.

The long-awaited book *Sanskrit Documents* was published during this year and seeing the opinions and reviews on it, we can well be proud of its publication. It has been welcomed everywhere by scholars of history as well as by those of Indology in general.

RESEARCH WORK

This year we had only one researcher, Shri Nataraja Aiyyar. He was working on a critical and comprehensive Social History of Ancient India with special reference to Dharmaśāstra.

OUR NEEDS AND SUGGESTIONS

We have already hinted at our needs and have suggested measures to meet them. We have made clear our programme of work also in earlier Annual Reports. Here a summary of them is offered:

(i) Building, with the Reading Hall and its equipment.

(ii) Closed shelves with glass panes for the Mss;

(iii) A curator and a librarian in a regular scale of pay;

(iv) At least two more Research scholarships of Rs. 150 per month each;

(v) Drive for search of Mss. so as to purchase them or at least have them film photographed ;

(vi) Preparing a bibliography of research articles in the Indological periodicals ;

(vii) Preparing a chronology of Sanskrit authors ;

(viii) Writing and publishing a comprehensive history of Sanskrit learning.

With these words, I lay before you what we have done and what we hope to do.

Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
Allahabad.
3-5-1953

UMESHA MISHRA
Honorary Secretary

APPENDIX

LIST OF JOURNALS AND NEWSPAPERS AVAILABLE FOR MEMBERS AT THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD (MARCH 31, 1953)

INDIAN :

1. Journal of Sri Venkateshvara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati.
2. The Aryan Path, Banglore.
3. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
4. Mahabodhi, Journal of Mahabodhi Sabha, Calcutta.
5. The Indian Archives, New Delhi.
6. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
7. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
8. Manjusha, Calcutta.
9. The Jaina Antiquary.
10. Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
11. Bharatiya Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal Patrika, Poona.
12. Journal of Travancore University Oriental Mss Library.
13. Journal of Orissa Historical Research.
14. Saraswati Sushama, Banaras Sanskrit College, Banaras.
15. Journal of Music Academy, Madras.
16. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
17. Journal of the Mythic Society, Banglore.
18. Kurukshetra, New Delhi.
19. Orissa Gazette, Cuttock.
20. Epigraphica Indica, Otcammond.
21. Kinnera, Madras.
22. Tirumalai, Tirupati Devasthan.
23. Journal of Gujerat Research Society.
24. Shuddha Dharma.

25. Deccan College Bulletin, Poona,
26. Prabuddha Bharat, Calcutta.
27. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
28. Brahma Vidya, Adyar Library, Madras.
29. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
30. Bharatiya Vidya, Bombay.
31. Vishwa Bharati Quarterly.
32. The Indian P. E. N., Bombay.
33. Utkirna Ghghnchi
34. Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
35. Journal of the G. J. R. Institute, Allahabad.
36. Journal of Indian History.
37. Bulletin of the Government Oriental Mss Library, Madras.
38. Mysore Maharaja Skt. Mahapathshala Patrika.
39. Ancient India.

FOREIGN :

40. East and West, Rome.
41. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
42. Journal of the Ceylon Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon.
43. Journal of Siam Society, Bangkok.
44. Journal of the American Oriental Society.
45. Commonwealth Today, U. K.
46. Main Currents in Modern Thought.
47. Journal of Art and Aesthetics, America.
48. Orientis.
49. American Reporter.
50. University of Ceylon Review.
51. Chinese Newsletter.
52. Bulletin of New York Public Library.
53. U. S. Book Review.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1952

Income	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Annual Membership	932	6	0
2. Life Membership	300	0	0
3. Sales Account	298	9	0
4. Donations	7,798	6	0
5. Interest	4,177	0	0
Total	13,506	5	0
Opening Balance	3,595	15	11
Grand Total	17,102	4	11
Liabilities			
Due Expenditure	162	0	0
Surplus over expenditure on 31-3-1952	1,46,392	10	6
Total	1,46,554	10	6

Expenditure	Rs.	a.	p.
1. General Expenses	2,295	11	9
2. General Postage	37	15	0
3. Journal Postage	1;316	13	3
4. Book-binding	192	8	0
5. Building Account	7,538	10	9
6. Mss. Account	64	0	9
7. Books	186	12	0
8. Scholarships	1,850	0	0
9. Advance	2,000	0	0
Total	15,482	7	6
Closing balance	1,619	13	5
Grand Total	17,102	4	11
Assets			
Furniture	1,784	12	0
Mss.	1,578	0	9
Books	279	12	0
Advance	2,082	7	0
Invested Securities	1,37,529	13	1
Deposited Securities	180	0	0
National Saving Certificates	1,500	0	0
Cash in Bank	1,608	5	5
Cash in Hand	11	8	0
Total	1,46,554	10	6

H. CHATTERJI
Auditor.
25-2-53

ESTIMATED BUDGET FOR 1953-54

INCOME

		Rs.	a.	p.
	Recurring			
1.	Annual Membership	1,000	0	0
2.	Interest on Securities.	4,177	0	0
3.	Annual Grant from U. P. Government as recommended by the U. G. Com.	7,000	0	0
	Total	12,177	0	0
	Non-Recurring			
1.	Donations	10,000	0	0
2.	Grants from other Governments	10,000	0	0
3.	U. P. Govt. Grant for Building.	50,000	0	0
4.	Life Membership.	600	0	0
5.	Sales Account	500	0	0
	Total	71,100	0	0
	Grand Total	83,277	0	0

EXPENDITURE

		Rs.		Rs.	a.	p.
	Recurring					
1.	Pandit working in Mss. Section (Part-time).	50	p.m.	600	0	0
2.	Clerk (75-100)	75	"	*900	0	0
3.	Chokidar	47	"	564	0	0
4.	Mali	30	"	360	0	0
5.	Peon	35	"	420	0	0
6.	Librarian (150-15-300)	150	"	*1,800	0	0
7.	Library Attendent	35	"	*420	0	0
8.	Sweeper (Part time)	15	"	* 180	0	0
9.	Publication of the Research Journal			5,000	0	0
10.	Purchase of Printed books			*2,500	0	0
11.	Purchase of Manuscripts			*2,000	0	0
12.	Binding of Books and Journals			300	0	0
13.	Cloth for Mss.			200	0	0
14.	Two Research Scholarships @ Rs. 150 p.m.			*3,600	0	3
15.	Publication of books			*5,000	0	0
16.	Postage			250	0	0
17.	Contingencies (including electric charges)			300	0	0
	Total			24,394	0	0
	Non-Recurring					
1.	Building with equipment			60,000	0	0
	Grand Total			84,394	0	0

	Rs.	a.	p.
Grand Total Income	83,277	0	0
Grand Total Expenditure	84,394	0	0
Deficit	1,117	0	0

* Subject to additional funds being available.

A. S. SIDDIQUI,
Treasurer,
Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MADHYA-BHĀRATA ARCHAEOLOGY. PART I. By Dr. H. V. Trivedi, M. A., B. T., D. Litt., Kāvya-Tirtha, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Madhya-Bharata, and Curator, Museum, Indore. Published by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya-Bharata, Gwalior, 1953.

It is highly gratifying that Dr. Harihar Vitthal Trivedi, one of our own able students, who combines in himself a Sanskritist, a historian and an archaeologist, has put all those interested in the archaeological excavations and finds as well as the latters' provenances under a deep debt of obligation by having brought out this very fine collection of immense value as far as the state of Madhya-Bharata is concerned. The learned author tells us that the second part of the book, too, is already finished and quite ready for the press, and the materials of the third part have also been collected and put into a proper order. An archaeological map of the state given at the end of Part I materially adds to the value of the book even for its lay reader and a casual visitor to the various find-spots of his interest, how much more for a regular and devoted worker in the field! The Government of the Madhya Bharata is to be congratulated for a nice publication of the present type and is to be greatly emulated by the other states to follow in the wake to publish similar brochures regarding the archaeology of their own respective areas for the consumer in the shape of a researcher as well as an average man interested in this particular branch of study and most important source of our nations' ancient history. The state of Madhya-Bharata will, it is

expected, do its utmost to publish the remaining two parts as well without any delay and thus enable us to have a complete thing in our hands before the scholars of the old generation happen to lay down their mortal coil.

—R. M. Shastri

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES. PART III. By Bimala Churn Law, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D., D. Litt. Pages 255. Published by the Honorary Secretary, The Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Alfred Park, Allahabad. 1954. Price Rs. 7.

The present work marks another addition to the numerous works and writings by which Dr. B. C. Law has been enriching the literature of ancient Indian History and Culture consistently for a period of over forty years in a life of rare devotion to learning. They deal with different aspects and strands which make up the complex web of India's culture through the ages and reveal its true character and content which are not easily and popularly understood. The freedom of India is to be valued only as means to an end. India, no longer in bondage, is expected by the rest of the world to make her appointed contribution to the culture of mankind. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of every citizen of free India to make the utmost contribution of which he is capable, to the culture of the country. In one sense, one's conntry is his culture and its culture is his country. Dr. B. C. Law is one of the few patriotic Indians, who have devoted their whole life to the sacred mission of serving the cause of the country in that particular regard. A remarkable feature of his life is that he is favoured equally by the two goddesses, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, who have forgotten their mutual jealousy in bestowing upon him their own special gifts of prosperity and learning.

The volume under review consists of sixteen chapters, of which thirteen are devoted to the study of geographical materials of ancient India, its cities like Kapilavastu, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā and also some regions like Prāgjyotiṣapura, Aṅga, Campā, Mithilā or Avantī. Dr. Law has made a special study of the fascinating subject of ancient Indian geography on which he is an acknowledged and outstanding authority. The merit of his scholarship is the preciseness and exhaustiveness with which he treats the original material and documents that are available on the topics treated. It goes without saying that this work will be found to be indispensable for the study of the various subjects with which it deals in its various chapters.

The last three chapters of the book deal with a few extra-geographical topics such as the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon in their geographical aspects, contemporary Indian and Ceylonese kings, and two great Jain teachers, Ṛṣabhadeva (Ādinātha) and Pārśvanātha. Each chapter is a mine of information which is published for the first time in a most convenient and interesting form. Chapter V requires special mention, as it throws a flood of light on some of the historical sites of ancient Bengal, on each of which the learned author has brought together all available information from different sources, literary, archaeological, and topographical. It will rank as a valuable chapter in the early history of Bengal.

—Radha Kumud Mookerji

History of Dharma-Śāstra. Vol. IV. By Mm. Pandurang Vaman Kane. Pages i to xxxii and pp. 1 to 926. Published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1953. Price Rs. 30.

This volume from the pen of Mm. P. V. Kane unanimously acclaimed as one of the greatest living savants in India of Dharma-Śāstra contains the history of Dharma-Śāstra comprised under the following heads:

I. Pātaka and Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka, pp. 1—178.

II. Antyeṣṭi (rites after death), Aśauca (impurity on birth and death), Śuddhi (purification), pp. 179-333.

III. Śrāddha, pp. 334—551.

IV. Tīrtha Yātrā (pilgrimage to holy places), pp. 552—827.

It is impossible to do full justice to this work in a short review. The study of Dharma-Śāstra helps us not only to understand our ancient culture but also to shape the same at the present time. The following are some of the points which would appeal at the present time:

1. About Prāyaścitta there is the evidence of the Dharma-Śāstra and inscriptions that ancient Hindu kings administered Prāyaścitta to the guilty through the state Purohits and this was largely in addition to the substantial punishments as fines, imprisonment etc. Now that this had fallen into disuse in later days and cannot now be revived in a secular state and that the Pariṣad of ancient days now retains its lingering survival in the dictates of the various Dharma-Ācāryas, the author is at pains to suggest a solution for the same, the more so as the threats of punishment of hell in the other world are losing their hold on men's faith.

2. The much-misunderstood accounts of hell in the Purāṇas and works on Karma-Vipāka are rightly appraised. The accounts of hell in our Purāṇas and the teaching of the works on Karma-Vipāka though dismal and terrifying come to this that no soul need be without hope provided it is prepared to wait and undergo torments for its misdeeds, that it need not be applied by the numerous existences foreshadowed in those works and that the soul may in its long passage and evolution be ultimately able to discover its true greatness and realize eternal peace and perfection (p. 177).

3. The learned author has now been nominated as a member of the Upper House in the Indian Parliament for guiding its legislation especially on matters of Hindu Law. The following lines give his opinion on the question of temple entry by the so-called untouchables:

"Many orthodox Hindus hold that their inmost feelings are hurt by this tyranny of the majority in the Legislatures. They feel that these measures are contrary to the four freedoms that are promised in many constitutions viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear . . . . . .The entrance of one set of people in the temple often entails the departure of another set as said by the Privy Council in *Saklat versus Bella* (28, Bombay Law Reporter 161) which is not a very desirable thing. The equality of the former untouchables in all secular matters is sure to spread in a generation or so to other non-secular matters and so to entry in temples. Adjustments on an unprecedented scale are taking place in modern India with regard to usages cherished for ages and the entry into temples of the so-called untouchables would have been effected in a few years without recourse to threat of punishments and without bitterness and rancour in the hearts of many people."

4. Regarding Śrāddhas the learned author concludes that: "Therefore while discarding the heavy accretions accumulated through ages, we Hindus of these days must see to it that we do not throw overboard the gold that lies buried under the crust of ritual and ill-understood ceremonies" and hence the old sanctified Śrāddha should neither be abolished nor be modified into a dinner party on the annual day as suggested on page 550.

5. Regarding pilgrimages, the author states on page 827:

"Every Indian who is proud of the great religious and spiritual heritage of our country must make it a point to devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and places of pilgrimage. The talk of the conquest of Everest jars on my ears . . . . These silent but awe-inspiring peaks should be looked upon as teachers of mankind and not as material things to be conquered and dealt with by human beings as they please". This deserves our careful attention these days.

6. There is a list of Tīrthas prepared with brief notes. The antiquarian and the modern scholars are both indebted to this list. But the historian expects a supplement to this especially as the account of the famous South Indian temples as Srirangam, Cidambaram, Conjeewaram, Madura, Trichinopoly, Rock Fort, Rameswaram and Tirupati are dealt with in a few lines. No doubt separate monographs exist as in the case of Tirupati—2 volumes of general History, 2 volumes on the Temple and 6 volumes on the Temple in scriptures. The formation of the Religious Endowment Department as a State Department would make us look to them for such compilation. But to whom else could the eyes of the wary historian turn except to Mm. P. V. Kane!

7. Following the example of the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Tristhalīsetu*, there is an exhaustive

treatment of the pilgrimage to Gaṅgā and to the three cities Kāśī, Prayāga and Gayā. The history of the Viśveśwara Liṅga and its vicissitudes throughout the ages especially throughout the Muslim period has still to be ascertained and written. For example Vācaspati Miśra II (1425-1490 A. D.) author of the *Tirtha Chintāmaṇī* holds that Avimukteśwara Liṅga is the same as the Viswanātha Liṅga. But the *Tristhalīsetu* (p. 297) and the *Tīrtha-Prakāśa* (p. 187) reject this idea. The present temple of Viśveśwara was built by Rani Ahalya Bai (Holkar) of Indore in the last quarter of the 18th century. The question as to how many times the temple was demolished and rebuilt and as to how the worship was conducted during this period (1194 to 1670 A. D.) still remains an enigma. This is a subject to be studied critically and taken up by historians especially at Kāśī and Prayāga.

8. The five bathing ghāṭas styled as the *Pañca-Tīrtha* of Kāśī have received the highest judicial praise at the hands of the Privy Council in the Daśāśwamedha Ghāṭa case in 68 Indian Appeals 53. Still there is an old ruling of the Calcutta High Court necessitating text-writers to state the current law thus: " Pilgrimages for the spiritual benefit of the husband and in performance of the widows' duty to his soul e. g. pilgrimage to Gaya for performing her husband's Shraddha, pilgrimage to Pandrapur are acts conducing to the spiritual welfare of the husband but *not pilgrimage to Banaras*" (Mulla's *Hindu Law*, 1952, p. 185-186). It is to be noted that the treatment of the greatness of Kāśī at all times from the earliest times of the *Ṛgveda* to the present day as noted by Kane would surely correct the erroneous decision still lingering in the *Law Reports*.

9. The description of the Gayāwāls of modern days (p. 644) that "they are a dying race" is distressful reading. Surely ways and means ought to be devised for keeping the race alive in conformity with the greatness of Gayā from

hoary antiquity. Mm. Kane has done signal service in removing the erroneous impression that *Gayā-Māhātmya* is not earlier than the 13th or 14th century A. D. as held by Barua. We wish the author god-speed in his bringing out the fifth and concluding volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* from the earliest times down to the present day.

THE VIDŪṢAKA—THEORY AND PRACTICE. By J. T. Parikh, M. A., Sarvajanik Education Society, Surat. 1953. Pages i to viii and 1-50. Price Re. 1.

This is a continuation of the study of the author in the field of Sanskrit literary criticism.

It should be acknowledged that in former times more attention was paid to the formal side of literature. Character study as separate studies, for example, is conspicuous by its absence; and we have yet to have our Dowden, Moulton and Bradley for the Sanskrit authors. The work in hand is an attempt in the right direction and would be a desirable step in the attainment of our goal, viz. the production of works treating of the characters in the works of our great poets and dramatists. Students will be much benefitted by this interesting book.

YAJNATATTVAPRAKĀŚA. By Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Calcutta. Edited by Pandit A. M. Ramnatha Dikshita, M. A., Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, Banaras Hindu University 1953. Madras Law Journal Press, Madras. Price—Bound cover Rs. 4; ordinary cover Rs. 3. Pages xvi+132 with 8 plates of Yajña Kuṇḍas, sacrificial implements etc.

Vedic ritual has been the subject of several penetrating studies by Western scholars from the beginning of the 19th century. Martine Haug, Hilldebrandt, Keith, Henry Caland, Dumont and others have done notable work in the exposition of the ritual and philosophy of the Veda. These valuable studies have, however, not obviated the need for a detailed exposition of the operational processes of the many modes of Vedic sacrifices by scholars rooted in the tradition and acknowledged authorities in the lore of the Veda and the Mīmāṁsā. Mm. Kane has, in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra* (Vol. II. Part 2 pages 976 to 1,255) given a detailed account of the Śrauta sacrifices including the references to the Mīmāṁsā rules bearing on the actual performance of the Vedic sacrifices. Now, we have in the *Yajñatattvaprakāśa* of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit A. Chinnaswami Sāstri, formerly Principal of the College of Theology in the Banaras Hindu University and now Professor in the Research Department of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, a succinct account *in Sanskrit* of the details of all the rituals of Vedic sacrifices. He has clearly detailed the materials and vessels to be used in various sacrifices, how they are to be used; the ṛtviks that are to take part in the sacrifices; the method of procuring and utilising Soma; the mode of preparing Puroḍāśa; and the shape of the Kapālas to be used in it; the materials necessary for a Paśuyāga; the particulars of graha and camasa to be used in Soma-Yāga and the way of singing

stotragāna and śāstra recitation ; the shape of bricks necessary for performing Mahāgnicayana and how they are to be arranged in the shape of Garuḍa. These sacrifices have constituted a vital element of our rich cultural life of the past and though not neglected to the extent of their very process of performance forming a mystery almost to most of us, it is yet to be accepted on all hands that a clear and succinct account of the ritual of sacrifice should be made available to enlighten even the lay man and to kindle more interest in what may be otherwise construed as a subject almost beyond his comprehension. Even the few scholars who venture to tread this difficult track have not always that rare combination in equipment, which alone can present a clear picture of the subject as it should be understood and are, therefore, naturally faced with innumerable difficulties in their studies. These have been mitigated to a great extent by the author who has thoroughly studied Vedas in the traditional method of adhyayana and whose knowledge of the other Śāstras is incomparable. The author has also thrown light on the riddle of the prevalence of human sacrifice in Vedic India. This book helps one to have a clear picture of the ancient sacrificial rites and enables the students of Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta to know in detail all the Śrauta sacrifices without having to wade through the texts of the Śrautasutras. There is thus no difficult portion of the subject which has not been rendered easy by the author so that it may be understood even by the lay man. An English rendering of this work will, no doubt, enable a wider circle of people to have a better comprehension of the scheme of our ancient sacrifices. We are most grateful to the author for bringing out such a useful book.

—P. N. Pattabhiramaśāstrī.

VIDYĀPATI. (The Poems of Vidyāpati in Devanāgarī characters). Edited by Śrī Khagendranatha Mitra M. A., Ex-Head of the Bengali Dept., Calcutta University and Dr. Bimanbihari Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D., Bhāgavataratna, College Inspector, Bihar University. Hindi translations by Śrī Hareshwari Prasad, M. A., M. Ed., B. L., Lecturer, Patna Training College. Published by Śrī Saratkumar Mitra, Advocate, 85 Grey Street, Calcutta. Pages 132+618+52. Royal Octavo. Price Rs. 15. 1953.

This is the latest edition of the famous collection of Vidyāpati's songs made by Babu Nagendranatha Gupta in 1909. It was revised first in 1934 by the late Amūlyacaraṇa Vidyābhūṣana, and then enlarged along with a glossary in 1941 by Khagendranatha Mitra. Now, in 1953, Dr. Bimanbihari Majumdar has completely overhauled and re-arranged the work and has published it in Devanāgarī characters along with a very elaborate and informative Introduction of 132 pages.

I

Since Vidyāpati occupies a very important place in the early literature of all North-eastern languages, it is very necessary to have an authentic text of his songs (*padas*). The days of blind enthusiasm when any early specimen in the Maithili language could be hailed as a genuine pada of Vidyāpati are over.[1] Thanks to the labours of a large

[1] Babu Nagendranatha Gupta was himself the worst defaulter in this respect. Even an otherwise careful and reliable scholar like Śivanandana Ṭhākura was tempted to ascribe hastily an anonymous pada to the poet. Indeed, in Mithila till this day there is common tendency to give the name of Vidyāpati in the Bhanitā of a love poem or a Nacārī. Even as early as the end of the seventeenth century A. C., Locana (or his copyist?) appears to have ascribed (may be from a genuine confusion) a pada by one Kaviśekhara to Vidyāpati (*Rāgataraṅgiṇī*, p. 45) : See below my discussion on this pada.

number of recent scholars, it is now possible to exercise quite a great deal of discrimination in choosing his authentic padas.

Dr. Majumdar must be congratulated for making a pioneer attempt to study the genuine Bhanitās (lines giving the name of the author) of Vidyāpati's padas (in JBORS for December 1942). In the present edition he has made a valuable use of it. On the basis of his study, he has arranged the padas under three major headings : (1) those genuine padas which refer to the patrons and can, therefore, be generally arranged chronologically ; (2) those genuine padas which refer to no particular patrons but have in their Bhanitā the name (or authentic penname) of Vidyāpati ; and (3) finally those padas which are found slightly unreliable or completely spurious. In doing so, he has all told rejected 203 padas which had been wrongly ascribed to Vidyāpati by the first editor (Babu Nagendranatha Gupta).

I must say, however, that in spite of utmost care and consideration the text and the arrangement of the padas in this edition suffer from grave errors and omissions. There is no discrimination to the logical end between genuine and non-genuine padas ; the sources have been again mixed up. The editor starts well and applies rigorous standards for distinguishing the genuine padas from the non-genuine, but does not whole-heartedly complete this rather unpleasant task. Moreover, he frequently mixes up oral and written sources, Maithila and non-Maithila sources, modern and printed with old Ms. sources ; and their degrees of reliability and chances of corruptness or even spuriousness are wholly ignored.

I should like to illustrate and describe my objections in some detail. It is not clear for example, why the "Haragourī and Nānāviṣayaka" padas are classed separately as being "based on oral sources of Mithilā" when many

padas based on comparatively oral sources of Mithilā have been already included in section 2 which is described as "padas from Maithila Mss.": I am referring to several padas based on Grierson's collection and on Nagendra Babu's "Mithilāra"-pada—see, e.g., pada numbers 606, 607, 609, 612 of this edition. So far as I remember, Grierson's collection and Nagendra Babu's "Mithilāra"—padas were based on current oral tradition rather than on any old Manuscripts of Mithilā. What is still more inexplicable is the point that while the so-called "Haragourī"[2] padas have been put together as orally available, other kinds of orally available padas have not been classed together.

In other words, in so putting together the so-called "Haragourī" padas the editor changes his basis of classification of the padas. In the beginning he tries to arrange them on chronological basis and on the basis of their authenticity. Now, he seems to arrange them according to their subject-matter. Much confusion prevails, therefore, in this otherwise happy departure from the erroneous Vaiṣṇava classification of the padas. Indeed, I am inclined to think that the so-called chronological arrangement may have been given, but the rest of the padas should have been put together either grouped under different Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs or grouped according to the degree of authenticity or reliability of the sources and arranged strictly as they were found therein. Of course, in them in each case only those padas which could be detected as absolutely authentic should have been given place.

In this connection I should like to point out the

[2] This name is very incorrect. In Mithilā the poemson Śiva and Pārvatī are called Nacārīs and Maheśavāṇīs. Even so early as the *Ain-i-Akbari* records the fame of the Nacārīs of Vidyāpati. The first pada (no. 772) under this heading is unfortunately a traditionally Śākta (Gosāunika Gīta) pada and not a Śiva pada and shows an unpardonable ignorance of the Maithila tradition on the part of the editor.

learned editor's erratic selection of authentic padas on the basis of their language and style. He has, for example, given a very genuine poem from *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* as Pada 900 as being non-genuine because its style and language appear to him "modern". If the poem should be rejected, it is because its author is Amṛtakara and not because of its language. The language is not defective, it is just a genuine piece from an old Ms. of Locana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* which does not seem to have been much modernized or contaminated. Similarly, it is not at all explicable why the editor has accepted a large number of padas found in Bengal as "authentic" and rejected at least 12 such as "unauthentic"—presumably on the basis of their language merely. Linguistic test alone is very unreliable. For, language is capable of being deliberately imitated, as we know it in Bengal to have been so extensively practised. Moreover, the determination of style has such a wide scope for subjective element in it that there can never be any certainty about its results. At any rate, it can never be a guiding factor singly taken. It would have been more scientific editing if the Bengali sources could have been discussed and some conclusions arrived at regarding their comparative authenticity. Indeed, it is strange how the learned editor has flouted even his own conclusions in accepting some padas from Bengali sources. He has very ably established in the Introduction that such pen-name in the Bhanitā as "Śekhara" is indicative of its spuriousness. Unfortunately, he does not follow this very sound conclusion in practice. Thus, he has included pada 621 and 651 with Śekhara in Bhanitā. The entire thing presents such a hodge-podge of assertions and deviations that one fails to rely completely and faithfully on the text as presented by Dr. Majumdar. In other words, the present edition has not achieved the status of a definitive and critical edition of the text of Vidyāpati's padas.

It appears to me that the source of all this confusion is an initial mistake. Dr. Majumdar does not seem to know some of the very elementary principles of modern textual criticism. He did not, therefore, start his work of editing the poems by first collecting and scientifically analyzing the available Mss. and other sources so as to determine their comparative authenticity. In this matter he should have given greatest credit to the native old Mss. and the least to oral, foreign or modern sources. Unfortunately what he has done is to have indiscriminately grouped together the Maithila and the non-Maithila (Bengali) sources, and the written and the oral sources. This is the point which vitiates much of his selection and arrangement—even his novel and in many other ways highly suggestive chronological arrangement.

The editor should have made an effort to collect and collate scientifically all the Mss. in the original. I believe that the so-called Tarauni Palm-leaf Ms. can still be traced. If proper enquiries are made at the Calcutta University, it is likely to be found out. A Bengali still worships Vidyāpati Thākura with great devotion as a Vaiṣṇava saint and it is quite possible that in spite of having unlawfully misappropriating his *padāvalī*, the Ms. must not have been destroyed. There is great sanctity attached to this Ms. as it was found along with what has been universally accepted as a genuine copy of *Śrīmadbhāgavat* in the poet's own hand. A search for this Ms. is very essential as we have now every reason to believe that all information regarding it in Nagendra Babu's edition is extremely unreliable.

Not only this, a little more intensive search for more Mss. could have now been once again made in Mithilā itself. Indeed, it is a matter of great pity that the Nepalese libraries have not been tapped afresh. There were, for example, some 60 padas in the *Kaṁsanārāyaṇapadāvalī* discovered in 1946 by Dr. Jayakanta Mishra in the library

of the late Rājaguru Hemarāja Sharma and some in the *Gorakṣopākhyāna* (a drama attributed to Vidyāpati) in the Durbar library. The Nepal Mss. and the Rāmabhadrapura Mss. have alone been studied carefully. For the rest, the editor has relied upon printed copies.

In order to restore the original text as far as possible and to determine the authenticity of the padas it is very necessary to have an access to as many Mss. as possible and then to present completely and faithfully the critical apparatus. While Dr. Majumdar has taken pains to indicate now and then the variant lines, his information is very incomplete and unreliable. Mostly he has taken liberties in changing—modernizing ?—the spellings; and he hardly ever tells us wherefrom he accepts any particular reading and which sources he rejects—it is hardly clear if and when he effects any emendations. All this should have been faithfully and meticulously indicated.[3]

I do not mean to say that the non-genuine padas may not be discovered to be genuine some time later or that they are of no value at all to the student of early Maithili literature. Some of them are parts of the wonderful Brajabuli branch of Maithili literature and others are just contemporary unidentified, anonymous padas at present. They cannot be accepted as anything more than these—they should find no place in any edition of Vidyāpati's padas.

In this connection, I should like to make my considered views on the position of the Bengali sources of Vidyāpati's padas very clear. Are they to be regarded as at all worthy of inclusion? It is interesting to note that

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[3] There is a small errata appended to the padas. It appears that no effort to present the correct spelling and idiom was made. There is a prefatory note to this errata by Srī Hareshwarī Prasad which seems to say that they are mainly printing mistakes born of inadequate proof correction. Should Srī Prasad be regarded as responsible for them and not Dr. Majumdar? In other words is he alone responsible for the corrupt text that is presented to us?

some of the padas in the Bengali sources have now been found genuine in old Maithila sources discovered in the Twentieth Century. Therefore, they cannot be completely rejected as unreliable. But then, they are so mixed up with the padas of the Bengali Vidyāpati and other imitators of Vidyāpati that singly they are very little to be relied upon. Moreover, the dates of all the Bengali sources—including Paṇḍita Bābā's Mss—are comparatively very modern. If we are able to discover some genuinely *old* text of Vidyāpati's padas in Bengal, it will be very valuable indeed. Till then the present Bengali sources must be accepted as corroborative only, and may help us in determining and restoring the correct readings. They cannot be accepted as reliable original sources at all, as such. Much of their value will be like that of oral, modern tradition of Vidyāpati's padas in Mithilā; they are just oral, slightly old tradition of Vidyāpati's or (more correctly) his imitator's padas preserved in Bengal. They should never figure independently in any collection of Vidyāpati's padas. I am conscious that this might deprive Vidyāpati readers of some really very sweet padas. But then, they may have them in a separate volume entitled *Brajabuli Padas of Bengal* or *Maithili Padas of Bengal* or *Vidyāpati Apocrypha in Bengal*.

Without therefore minimizing the meritorious and important achievements of Dr. Majumdar's edition, it must be said that it does not reach any more reliability than the earlier editions. It has a few more poems in it than in any previous edition, and some very openly spurious padas have been discarded for the first time. In other respects the text has been as much confused and mixed up as improved.

II

In interpreting these padas there has been not even that improvement over the previous editions. In spite of our present knowledge of much new contemporary and

preceding Maithili literature, there are many padas still not explained at all or wrongly explained. It appears that the task of interpretation had been left to Śrī Prasad, a Hindi speaking scholar of Patna. This has not at all improved the matters---and may have well made them worse.

In fact, it has been an unpardonable error on the part of such sympathetic, erudite and discriminate editor as Dr. Majumdar not to have sought the help of or not to have entrusted the work of interpretation to one whose mother tongue was Maithili and one who had deeply and thoroughly immersed himself in Maithili idiom and literary tradition. It is more regrettable that he could find an obscure Hindi scholar alone to help him. Dr. Majumdar had earlier examples of this kind of help—in the case of Nagendra Babu, Kavīśvara Candā Jha and in that of Śrī Khagendranatha Mitra the late Babu Vidyānanda Thākur. This happy practice has been not only ignored in the present edition but a more harmful one has been started—viz., associating a Hindi scholar. The result has been that the interpretations have remained defective and incomplete at a time when a Maithila scholar could have helped much in this task and prevented many easily removable errors and confusions. I shall cite here only one very simple instance which came to my notice as I opened the pages of this edition at random. On page 113 there is the word एकसरि and it has been interpreted as एकेश्वर which is absurd—it is a simple word meaning "lonely" and should have been so interpreted. To modify or twist the meanings in such a manner as one chooses has been a common fault with the interpreters of Vidyāpati—Hindi or Bengali. It can be eradicated only if a competent Maithila scholar took upon himself the task. It is very much regretted that even Dr. Majumdar has missed this opportunity. Indeed, it has made me think as to why the generous publisher financed a Hindi edition of these padas at all and not a Maithili

edition—which would have been the only best thing to do now that Vidyāpati's nationality and language have been indisputably and finally established. The matter is all the more painful as the learned editor Dr. B. B. Majumdar is a genuine lover of Maithila language and culture and has taken pains generally to approach Vidyāpati from an unbiased and therefore Maithila angle as far as possible.[4]

III

This edition is, however, unique for its long critical Introduction. Herein Dr. Majumdar has made a valuable, permanent contribution to Vidyāpati criticism. He has reached some extremely useful conclusions in a most thorough and fastidious manner which is associated with modern research. In the following pages I have endeavoured to bring together the points where Dr. Majumdar has made definite contribution and his conclusions are acceptable to me.

He has divided the Introduction into 10 sections—(a) V.'s many-sided genius; (b) V.'s ancestors; (c) V.'s patrons; (d) Mithila and Northern India in the Age of Vidyāpati; (e) V.'s life and date; (f) the authentic texts of the *Padāvalī*; (g) how to determine the genuine padas; (h) V.'s contemporaries; (i) the Radhākṛṣṇa element in V.'s padas; and (j) the growth and development of V.'s poetic mind. All this is followed by several valuable indices and lists. Thus, he has given a list of those padas of the earlier editions which have been now completely rejected by him; another, of those padas which have been incorporated from new sources; and finally, a very revealing analytical statistics of the various names of Kṛṣṇa and his gopis occurring in the authentic padas.

[4] Yet, it must be pointed out that a slight Bengali strain has vitiated his approach when he most uncovincingly and even inconsistently ends by saying that Vidyāpati *was* a Vaiṣṇava. See later on my remarks on this point.

The following are the important points in this Introduction: (1) The identification of Karmāditya the ancestor of Vidyāpati with a Karmāditya whose inscription has been found at Hābīḍīha has been finally rejected (p. 5). I should like that the inscription should be re-read and a copy of it be published in some learned journal. In addition to Dr. Majumdar's arguments I may mention that in the Pañjī the ancestor of Vidyāpati is not called a Minister at all (like the inscriptional Karmāditya) but simply a *Tripāṭi* (? Tripāthī) meaning perhaps "one who studied the three Vedas".

(2) Similarly it must now be taken as finally settled (p. 7) that Gaṇapati the father of Vidyāpati is different from Ganapati who wrote *Gaṅgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*.[5]

(3) We are grateful to Dr. Majumdar for reminding us pointedly that while V.'s great-great-grandfather and other relatives as a whole were important and held places of trust and responsibility, his own great-grandfather, grandfather, and father were rather insignificant. This is also perhaps the reason why the poet does not mention them in his authentic works anywhere.

(4) The name 'Ganesa' or 'Gaanarāe' in the *Kīrtilatā* should no more be carelessly accepted as 'Gaṇeśvara' (see p. 8). Unless the Pañjī records say otherwise we should be cautious in this matter. For, Dr. Majumdar rightly quotes Śrī B. K. Chattopadhyaya: "Gaanesa or Gaanesarāe may phonetically correspond to Gaganeśa, Gaganeśvara or Gaganarāya, and not to Gaṇeśa or Gaṇeśvara." The matter deserves further investigation but we are thankful to Dr. Majumdar for seriously drawing our attention to it once again.

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[5] By the way, it is necessary to point out a very grave printing error here. The name of Vidyāpati's grandfather was Jayadatta and not Jayadeva.

(5) Why did Devasingha reside in Naimiṣāraṇya when Vidyāpati wrote the *Bhūparikramā*? (p. 10 and p. 41). Obviously he had gone there for pilgrimage, and not as Dr. Majumdar conjectures, for political reasons. But the question remains why did he go so far? and when did he go there? I think that a more thorough search for the full significance of Naimiṣāraṇya in Maithila tradition of pilgrimages should be made. I am not at all convinced why Vidyāpati should have gone early to the Devakulī branch of Oinivāras when all evidence seems to indicate that Kīrttisingha's branch preceded it. That Vidyāpati does not add any honorifics with the names of Śivasingha and his father Devasingha when they were in Naimiṣāraṇya does not mean anything definite. At least the title 'Śrī' should have been present if they were at all alive when he wrote their names. Vidyāpati calls himself a "Kavi" in the same passage under discussion—presumably not as having written so many Maithili padas under Devasingha whom he called therein as "narapati" but as having written the *Kirtilatā*. It is not possible, in view of this epithet, to accept the tradition quoted on the authority of Pt. Ramanatha Jha that he went to Naimiṣāraṇya as a student.

The facts appear even now to be as follows: Vidyāpati was with that branch of the Oinivāras in which Kīrttisingha and Vīrasingha were born. He did not go about abegging for them the help of the Bengal and Delhi rulers—such conjectures of Dr. Majumdar are baseless. That is to say, he was a playmate of the young Kumāra Kīrttisingha who was crowned sometime after about 1404-5 A. D. and in whose praise he wrote the Kīrttipatākā. After the death of Mahārāja Kirttisingha—and the exact date of his death is not known—the kingdom passed on to the Devakulī branch. The case of Vidyāpati passing on from the court of one line at its extinction to another is very common in later life but nowhere he seems to have served

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two collateral lines simultaneously. It is never possible to imagine him paying allegiance to exiled scions of the royal family at Naimiṣāraṇya and write in praise of another branch at the same time. There is nothing to prove that *Bhūparikramā* was written before *Kirttilatā* whereas there is the evidence of his own epithet as "Kavi" in *Bhūparikramā*. Obviously the poet wrote something to take pride as "Kavi" in the *Bhūparikramā*—perhaps the *Kīrtilatā*.

The gap between 1404-5 and La. Sam. 291 (1412-13 A.D.) when Vidyāpati speaks of both Devasingha and Śivasingha of the Devakulī branch as ruling is very small. I think that Devasingha and Śivasingha had gone for a simple pilgrimage at this time and the poet went with them or reached their abode there between 1404-5 A.D. and 1412-13 A.D. Whether Devasingha's father was also alive during these years there is no evidence to prove. The likelihood is that he was dead by this time. So that perhaps Devasingha was the first king of the Devakulī branch.[6] He has not been called a king etc. by Vidyāpati in the *Bhūparikramā*, perhaps because Devasingha had not yet been formally crowned or perhaps because they (he and his son) were then on a pilgrimage and did not like to be described as king and prince but simply as plain men. This fact is, however, not yet very clear—the evidence is so meagre and vague.

There is, nevertheless, adequate evidence that Devasingha did become a ruler of Mithilā. Vidyāpati wrote some padas which have been found in very authentic sources (such as, in the *Kaṁsanārāyaṇapadāvalī*, the Nepal Ms. of *Vidyāpati-padāvali*, the Tarauni Palm-leaf Ms. and the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*) with the words "narapati" and the viruda "Garuḍanārāyaṇa". Whether his son Śivasingha ruled with him is not exactly clear, but there is no doubt

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[6] This fact is not, however, very certain.

that he was more devoted to the administration than his father—he won exploits against the rulers of Gajjana (Ghazipur ?) and Gauḍa (Bengal) and was called Mahārājādhirāja even before he was crowned (*vide* the colophon of a Ms. of *Kāvyaprakāśa-viveka* in India Office Mss. dated 291 La. Sam. and the verses in *Puruśaparīkṣā* which call him so even when Devasingha was alive). Obviously such Śivasiṅgha could not be 15 years old (as Dr. Majumdar believes) when he was crowned after the death of his father.

The question has been very appropriately raised and deserves further close examination by interested scholars.

(6) The pada with 'Rao Bhogīsara' in the Bhanitā (no. 801 in Nagendra Babu's edition) has been rightly rejected as non-Vidyāpati-an (on p. 24). I am not ready to accept this conclusion on the ground that this would shift back his date of birth to about 1354 A. D. Nor is it possible to agree with Dr. Majumdar that Vidyāpati could not have called himself a "Khelana Kavi" (playmate poet) at the age of 40-50. The language of the pada is very modern and yet it is not possible to explain how and why Nagendra Babu found it in the Tarauni Palm-leaf Ms. May be, the poem is written by some other poet but the language has been changed—all sorts of possibilities are there knowing as we do now the untrustworthy methods of Nagendra Babu's scholarship. The matter can be only settled when we can see once again the original of this pada.

(7) One may agree with Dr. Majumdar that Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur came to Mithila in about 1402-5 (p. 34), though no positive and definite evidence for the date has been given.

(8) In the story given by Candā Jhā about Amṛtakara going to a Muslim suzerain, on behalf of Mahārāja Padmasingh the place of meeting could not be Patna but perhaps Jaunpur (p. 39).

(9) In Nepal Ms. there has been pointed out by Dr. Majumdar a poem (no. 48) by one Ātama which had been missed by other scholars. (Page 51, f. n. 104).

(10) On p. 74, f. n. 119, Dr. Majumdar has made a very revealing statement. Even Śivanandan Ṭhākura was guilty of ascribing anonymous poems to Vidyāpati without any definite authority.

(11) There is a very important factual analysis and statistics of the fact that Vidyāpati's padas were never meant to be Vaiṣṇava padas (p. 80 and onwards). The chief conclusions drawn by Dr. Majumdar are that Vidyāpati did not mention the name "Śyāma" for Kṛṣṇa (p. 85) and did not refer to the worship of the Sun (p. 80) and that there is no tinge of "Sakhī-bhāva" of the Vaiṣṇavas in his genuine padas. Here Dr. Majumdar has also concluded that the names Vallabha, Śekhara, Candana, etc. in the Bhanitās are to be rejected as unauthentic (p. 88).

(12) We should accept Dr. Majumdar's identification of Ghiyāsuddin in a pada of Vidyāpati in the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* (p. 57). But it is not at all possible to agree with his conjecture that the pada was written as early as 1397 (p. 48). Ghiyāsuddin Azama Śāha of Bengal flourished till about 1409 A. D. and Dr. Majumdar's conjecture is unnecessary; elsewhere even he is sceptical about its correctness (p. 23).

IV

In spite of these valuable points, it must be said that the severe and objective standards of criticism have not been uniformly followed by the learned editor. Now and then, he has deviated from the truly Maithila Vidyāpati tradition. He seems to have himself advanced purely hypothetical surmises and accepted credulously flimsy erroneous views of others.

Here are some such points: (1) Take his repeated references to the pada which contains the name

Nasarat Śāha (in *Rgatarangiṇī*, p. 44). Dr. Majumdar has definitely and rightly concluded elsewhere that Śekhara and Kaviśekhara are never the pen-names of the Maithila Vidyāpati and yet he is too willing to accept Locana's words that this pada with Kaviśekhara in the Bhanitā is Vidyāpati's. The internal evidences are wholly against Locana's words. The pada is perhaps by the same Kaviśekhara Yaśodhara who refers to Husain Śāha in another poem in *Rāgatarangiṇī* on p. 67. The two Muslim names—Husain Śāha and Nasarat Śāha—are obviously consecutive contemporary patrons of the Maithila poet Kaviśekhara. There is a great likelihood of the two being the consecutive Bengal rulers—Husain Śāha (1493—1519) and Nasarat Śāha (1519—32). During this period there was one more consecutive set of Muslim rulers of importance in the neighbourhood of Mithilā—Husain Śāha (1457—1491) and Nasiruddin Mahmud (1422—1454) of Jaunpur. But I am led to identify them with the Bengal rulers rather than with the Jaunpur rulers for several reasons. In the first place, the name of the Jaunpur ruler was 'Nasiruddin Mahmud' and not 'Nasarat Śāha' as given in the pada. Secondly, the Bengal ruler was much more famous as a patron of art and letters. Thirdly, another Maithili poet (Kaṁsanārāyaṇa) is known to refer to the Bengali ruler—Nasarat Śāha in *Rāgatarangiṇī* p. 97. Finally, Kaviśekhara was "nava" (new) during the reign of Husain Śāha but ceased to call himself so during the reign of Nasarat Śāha. Now, this could not happen if the reference is to the Jaunpur rulers because there Husain Śāha came to the throne *after* Nasarat Śāha; whereas this was exactly the sequence of the Bengal rulers. The name Nasarat has been wrongly spelt by Dr. Majumdar as 'Narsat' and I do not know why he has gone so far away from Mithilā to conjecture it to belong to an obscure grandson of Emperor Firoz Tughlak of Delhi. There is no plausible ground to accept such a conjecture save to justify the

words of Locana—making it probable for Vidyāpati to refer to some Nasarat Śāha. But such *a priori* conducting of evidences is wholly unscientific. It is a very important argument of Dr. Majumdar, as he makes repeated use of it (pp. 32, 41, 46, 48).

I think we should accept unhesitatingly what Dr. Majumdar says regarding Nagendra Babu's pada 44 and its reference to Nasiraśāha—the whole pada must be rejected as unauthentic.

(2) Take another favourite but erroneous point which Dr. Majumdar is never tired of repeating. He holds the opinion that the *Kīrttilatā* was not the first work of Vidyāpati (p. 40). As a proof of this he quotes two of his padas dedicated to Ghiyāsuddin Āzam Śāha of Bengal and to Nasarat Śāha of Delhi. Now, as I have pointed out above and as Dr. Majumdar himself says at another place, the pada referring to Ghiyāsuddin need not have been necessarily written before 1409 A. D. (p. 23). As regards Nasarat Śāha I have just pointed out how erroneous Dr. Majumdar's views are. There is one additional reason which he advances as a proof of the late authorship of *Kīrttilatā* in the life of Vidyāpati. He says that the poet must have attained maturity as a poet to be able to say boldly proud words about his poetic powers. This view, however, contradicts Dr. Majumdar's own insistence on the comparative youthful age of the poet—say 25 years only—at the time of the probable writing of the *Kīrttilatā* (1404-5 A. D. is only 25 years distant from 1380 A. D. which Dr. Majumdar regards as the probable date of the poet's birth). If we do not imagine that the poet had an acquaintance with the royal courts as a poet before 1404-5 A.D. (as Dr. Majumdar would like us to believe on p. 41), and do not put the birth date so late as 1380 A.D., the boast would seem very natural in 1404-5 A.D. While some degree of maturity in age is necessary for such boastful remarks, it must be said that they can come only

in youthful pride and vanity, though this had been written perhaps purely in accordance with convention. Besides, 30-40 years' age was quite youthful in those days. While one can readily accept Dr. Majumdar's well-argued contention that the mere fact that this work was in Avahaṭṭha does not make it Vidyāpati's first work, it is certainly important that he should not have continued to write in it *more frequently* in his maturer years. Vidyāpati knew the importance of the "desila baanā" (vernaculars) and yet that he chose the artificial and courtly form of this "desila baanā" is not merely accidental. One cannot easily forget the pan-Indian literary importance of this kind of artificial, literary, courtly language. Here it is very important to remember the place of Apabhraṁśa in those days. The *gradual* victory of the less literary, the more colloquial country speech, the real vernacular, the real "desila baanā" over the artificial and literary Apabhraṁśa cannot be ignored—the fact has a historical importance. So, it is not at all surprising that the poet should have made his first courageous, bold literary effort in this conventional, artificial form of "desila baanā". This would also explain his use of the word बालचन्द्र for himself. At the same time the epithet "Khelana Kavi" in the same work shows that he had displayed poetic powers and tendencies even earlier. I do not accept Dr. Majumdar's interpretation of this epithet that the poet was still a playing child, but rather that of others that he was a 'playmate poet' of Mahārāja Kīrttisingha. We have not been able to unearth any specimens of his earlier, immature work so far probably because they were not considered by the poet himself as worthy of him and therefore they were never even orally repeated or remembered, and were never put to writing.

Unfortunately Dr. Majumdar has found in *Indian Antiquary* (1899, p. 59) the age of Śivasingha as 15 only at the time of coronation in 1413-14 A. D.—it is not only

an absurd age for him to win laurels against Gauḍa and 'Gajjana' rulers and to be the virtual ruler three or more years before his father's death but very absurd for the poet to have sung so many highly erotic poems for him and his consort. The fact is that this is a misprint—Śivasingha is said to have been 51 years of age then. Now, Vidyāpati could not have been very much lower in age than this in order to be so friendly and near the king. Any other thing would not look natural, or, at any rate, the matter of such difference would have been pointed out by the poet in some way, somewhere. On the contrary, tradition adds that he was 3 years older than Mahārājā Śivasingha and thus it is that we get his birthdate round about 1360 A. D. This is the conclusion of almost all important Maithila scholars and there is no reason to deny it as Dr. Majumdar does on the basis of Dr. Shahidullah's conjectures (p. 47).

In this connection the learned editor proposes that *Bhūparikramā* should be taken as having been written even before *Kīrttilatā*. The reason that he gives is the absence of any title such as King or Kumāra for Devasingha or Śivasingha. He imagines that they had run away to Naimiṣāraṇya on account of Aslaan's tyrannies. This does not seem to be convincing. Why were Kīrttisingha and Virasingha still in Mithilā ? There was greater reason for *their* running away. Moreover, whether the tīrthayātrā took place earlier or later is not at all certain. The fact that there is no title of Kumara or King is not pertinent.. Suppose they were not crowned. Still they were of the royal family, as Vīrasingha and Kīrttisingha were, and could be called so. The reason for omission seems to be rather that they had gone there as pilgrims and not as royal personages, so "the poet" Vidyāpati wrote a guide to tirthas for them. The title "poet" in *Bhūparikramā* is very significant.

(3) Similarly I do not think that Dr. Majumdar has at all been able to make out a convincing case for Kīrttisingha

going with Vidyāpati to Ghiyāṣuddin Azam Shah or to anybody else for help, prior to going to Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur.

(4) There is another very great reliance on a reference to one Rūpadhara as a student of the poet in 1460 A. D. The reference is given in an entry in the *Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Mss. in Nepal Durbar Library* (p. 48). There are three points which I should like to make regarding this. In the first place, there are two statements made—one, that the present Ms. is copied correctly by a copyist called Someśvara; the other, that it had been copied by Rūpadhara. Now, it is beyond doubt that Someśvara copied the Ms. in 341 La. Sam. (=1460 A. D.) but that in the same year Rūpadhara had copied (or written) it, seems to be a little unusual. Then, the Vidyāpati who was teaching Rūpadhara appears to have been famous as a teacher and the village Mudāra seems to have been actually his residence or place of teaching or near it. Now the poet Vidyāpati has been called Mahāmahopādhyāya but never described as teacher[7]—he is described as a poet (सुकवये), as having the surname Ṭhakkura, etc. Finally, I do not think that after having lived the life of a courtier, a poet and singer, a dharmaśāstrī Paṇḍit he would engage himself *actively* in teaching somebody. The mention of the word "Śrī" in the name is significant of a person's being alive (till this day in Mithilā) but it was also used indiscriminately for showing regard towards somebody or even dropped for no particular reason—these features are so common that I need not illustrate them. Considering every factor, I believe that this Vidyāpati was some other Vidyāpati who was primarily a teacher. We know that Vidyāpati has been a very common name in Mithilā and there is hardly any family

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[7] Even the *Kāvyaprakāśaviveka* was not copied at his behest in 1410 because he was a teacher—this is a wrong deduction (from the mere mention of the word upādhyāya ?) by Dr. Majumdar on p. 49.

that has not produced one or more persons of this name. A useful account of some such Vidyāpatis has been given by Pandit Ramanatha Jha in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* (Vol. VIII, p. 91)[8]. Thus I think Dr. Majumdar's dates of Vidyāpati's death based on this reference is not at all reliable, and the dates for birth and death accepted earlier viz. 1390 A. D. and 1448 A. D. still hold good (see *History of Maithili Literature* by J. K. Mishra Vol. I p. 138 and p. 145).

(5) I have very admiringly read the "pioneer" attempt made by Dr. Majumdar to study the growth and development of Vidyāpati's poetic mind and art (p. 95 and onwards). It is not possible to agree with him in his interpretation of the changes in the "Viraha" poems or with what he has to say about the Bengali Vaiṣṇaya-bhāva of the poet in his later years. Much of what the learned editor has said is based on subjecive conjecture. It is very surprizing that after having written so ably and after having given for the first time so valuable analysis of the non-Vaiṣṇavite features (including the name Śyāma for Kṛṣṇa etc.) how he could end on such a wrong conclusion ! The subject was answered once and last very ably and in detail by Mm. Haraprasad Śāstri "विद्यापति वैष्णव छिलेन ना" in the introduction to his edition of *Kīrttilatā* that there was simply no reason to conclude " परिणत वयस में वैष्णवीय साधना के रस में निमग्न होकर राधाकृष्ण का लीलारस गान किया है।" Such a conclusion goes against the entire literary trends of early and medieval Maithili literature and a large amount of Sanskrit literature (esp. Jayadevian literature). The poet was devoted to all the "five" gods and perhaps most to Śiva—his nacārīs are his distinctive contribution to Maithili literature—so the *Āin-i-Akbari* also records. The poet

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[8] See also Dr. J. K. Mishra's *History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I, p. 134.

continued to write very erotic poems even after copying *Śrīmadbhāgavat* (vide—at least Pada 25 in Sivanandan Ṭhākura's *Viśuddha Vidyāpati Padāvalī*). Of course, there was a change and its evidence is there but not in this manner.

(6) On page 99 Dr. Majumdar has said things based on the assumption that the poems with Rāghavasimha are genuinely Vidyapati's. It has been said by Dr. J. K. Mishra in *History of Maithili Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 143, f.n. 39 that Rāghavasimha is different from Harisimha's son. The poems in which his name occurs are from oral tradition (Grierson's or Dr. Nagendranath Gupta's collection). The two names of his queen—Sonamati and Modavati deserve to be further investigated before anything definite can be said about the identity of Rāghavasimha. The Khanḍavalākula King Rāghavasimha was quite a great patron of letters in the 18th century and there are many chances on the basis of the language and the sources that the poems with this name in the Bhanitā were written under his patronage. This confusion is due to uncritically mixing up the sources of the poems of Vidyāpati.

(7) There is a peculiar ignorance about several facts of the history of Maithili literature. He had before him Dr. J. K. Mishra's *History of Maithili Literature* and so it is surprizing that he should make as unfounded or loose remarks about it as earlier editors did in the past. Thus, all references, to Umāpati the author of *Pārijātaharaṇa* as a predecessor of Vidyāpati (e.g. pp. 41 and 63), to Locana as a non-Maithila, to Kamsanārāyaṇa and Govinda, to Daśāvadhāna Ṭhākura, to Simhabhūpati (p. 74) or Bhūpasimha, to the Morang patrons of Bhīṣma Kavi and Dhīresara (p. 92) are completely out of date, and incorrect.

V

In the end I wish to say that the printing and get-up are generally speaking quite good. The printing errors

are, however, far too many and frequently the references are wrongly printed. This has caused the present reviewer sometimes endless confusion in trying to ascertain facts.. Thus, on p. 112 N. G. pada 34 is given as present edition pada 938 which is wrong, or pada 2 is referred to *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* p. 51 which is also wrong. These should be all assiduously corrected and checked up or at least an errata of essential errors at once added. So also the addition of an index to the names is very urgently needed.

Our thanks are due to the generous publisher of this volume for continuing the tradition of his illustrious father.

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महासांघिकानां प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रम्

THE PRĀTIMOKṢA SŪTRA OF THE MAHĀSĀṄGHIKAS

[I B] नमो वै भगवते वितरागाय ॥

1. नरेन्द्रदेवेन्द्रसुवन्दितेन त्रिलोकविद्युषु विशालकीर्त्तिना ।
बुद्धेन लोकानुचरेण तायिनामुद्देशितं प्रातिमोक्षं विदुना ॥

2. तं प्रातिमोक्षं भवदुःखमोक्षं श्रुत्त्वानुधीराः सुगतस्य भाषितां ।
षडिन्द्रियं सम्वरसम्वृतत्वात्करोन्ति जातीमरणस्य अन्तं ॥

3. चिरस्य लब्ध्वा रतनानि त्रीणि बुद्धो योदं मायिकाश्च शुद्धां ।
दौःशीलवद्यं परिवर्ज्जयित्वा विशुद्धशीला भवथाप्रमत्ताः ॥

4. शीलेन युक्तो श्रमणो तिरेति शीलेन युक्तो ब्राह्मणो तिरेति ।
शीलेन युक्तो नरदेवपूज्यो शीलेन युक्तस्य हि प्रातिमोक्षं ॥

5. अनेक बुद्धानुमतं विशुद्धं शीलं प्रतिष्ठा धरणीवसान्तं ।
तदाहरिष्याम्यहं संघमध्ये हिताय लोकस्य सदेवकस्य ॥

उपोद्घातः [2 A]

1. किञ्जीवितेन तेषां येषामिहाकुशलमूलजालानि ।
प्रच्छादयन्ते हृदयं गगनमिव समुन्नता मेघाः ॥
अतिजीवितं च तेषां येषामिहाकुशलमूलजालानि ।
विलयं व्रजन्ति क्षिप्रं दिवसकरहतान्धकारमिव ॥

2. किं पोषधेन[1] तेषां ये ते सावद्यशीलचरित्राः ।
जरामरणपंजरगता अमरवितर्क्के हि खाद्यन्ति ॥

1—Pali Posatha = Uposatha

कार्य्यं च पोषधेन तेषां ये ते अनवद्यशीलचारित्राः ।
जरामरणान्तकरा आरिव लयमर्द्दनाधीराः ॥
3. किं पोषधेन तेषामलर्ज्जिनां भिन्नवृत्तशीलानां ।
मिथ्याजीवरतानाममरणमिव वदन्तानां ॥
कार्य्यं च पोषधेन तेषां लर्ज्जिनाम् भिन्नवृत्तशीलानां ।
सम्यग्जीवरतानामध्याशयशुद्धशीलानां ॥
4. किं पोषधेन तेषां ये ते दुःशी [2 B] लयाथ कर्म्मान्ताः ।
कुणपमिव समुद्रतो समुत्क्षिप्ताः शास्तुः प्रवचनात् ॥
कार्यश्च पोषधेन तेषां ये ते तेधातुके अत्र प्रज्ञिप्ताः ।
आकाशे वियं पाणिशुद्धानां विमुक्तचित्तानां ॥
5. किं पोषधेन तेषां षडिन्द्रियं ये हि अरक्षितं नित्यं ।
पतितानां माराविषयेसु गोचरं वर्ज्जयन्तानां ॥
कार्य्यं च पोपधेन तेषां षडिन्द्रियं ये हि सुरक्षितं नित्यं ।
मुक्तानां शास्तु[1]र्वचने जिनवचने शासनरतानां ॥
6. किं पोषधेन तेषां मात्मशीले हि ये स्वयं वदन्ति ।
सब्रह्मचारिणश्च शास्तादेवमनुष्याश्च दुःशीलाः ॥
कार्यश्च पोषधेन तेषां शीले हि नास्ति गार्ह्यं ।
सर्व्वत्र योयंवद्या विज्ञानाम्बै स[2]देवके लोके ॥
7. किं पोषधेन तेषां विरागितं शास्तु [3 A] शासनं ।
ये हि आसेविता च ये हि विपत्तीयो पञ्च चापत्तीः ॥
कार्य्यं च पोषधेन तेषां युक्तानां शासने दशबलस्य ।
संबुद्धस्य सर्व्वदर्शिन्यो· मैत्रीपदा ये हि परिचीर्ण्णाः ॥
8. येषां च वसति हृदये शास्ता धर्म्मो गणोत्तमो[3] ॥
शिक्षा उद्देशो सम्वासो संतोषो शास्तुनो वचनम् ।
तेषाम् पोषधो अद्य परित्यक्तानि ये हि एतानि ।

1—Ms. reads व्वचने
2—Ms. reads श for स
3—Ms. reads गनोत्तमो

परिचर्यधर्मराजन्तेषामस्ति असंस्कृतं ज्ञानं ॥

9. शुद्धस्य वै सदा हस्तः सदा शुद्धस्य पोषधो ।
शुद्धस्य शुचिकर्म्मस्य सदासंघस्य ते एतं ॥

10. यावत्सूत्रप्रातिमोक्षे सो गणमध्य न भेष्यति ।
तावत्स्थास्यति सद्धर्मो सामग्री च गणोत्तमे ॥

11. यावद्दुद्देशयितारः प्रतिपत्तारश्च धर्मरतनस्य ।
तावत्स्थास्यति सद्धर्म्मो [3 B] हिताय सर्व्वलोकस्य ॥

12. तस्मात्समग्राः सहिताः सगौरवा भविथा ।
अन्यमन्यं परिचरथ धर्मराजमधिगच्छथ ॥
निर्व्वाणता अच्युतस्य दमशोकमिति ॥

वस्तु—अतिक्रान्ताः सुविहिताः शुद्धनिपुणा अन्तसमापन्नो उपनिषण्णाः चारित्राः शलाकागणिता भिक्षुणीमाप्राप्ता एत्तक[1]-जनाः । अनागतानामायुष्मन्तो भिक्षुणाच्छन्द पारिशुद्धिमारोचेथे । आरोचितश्च प्रतिवेदेथ—को भिक्षु भिक्षुणीनां छन्दहारको नास्ति चात्र कश्चिदनुपसंपन्ना नास्ति उष्णियुक्तो नास्ति मातृघाती नास्ति पितृघाती नास्ति अर्हन्तघातको । नास्ति संघभेदको । नास्ति तथागतस्य दुष्टचित्तरुधिरो खादके । नास्ति भिक्षुणी [4 A] दूषको । नास्ति स्तैन्यसम्वासिको । नास्ति नानासम्वासिको नास्ति असम्वा-सिको । नास्ति[2] कायक्रान्तको (?) नास्ति स्वयं समुद्दिको[3] । तदेवं सम-न्वाहरन्त भगवतो श्रावकाणां नित्यविशुद्धानां परिशुद्धशीलानां । शृणोतु मे भन्ते संघो अद्य संघस्य चातुर्दशिको वा सन्धिपोषधो वा विशुद्धि-नक्षत्रं । एत्तकं रात्तस्य निग्गतं । एत्तमवशिष्टं । किं संघस्य पूर्व्वकृत्यं ।

1—Pali एत्तक (so much)
2—Ms. reads नाती व्वि...
3—Ms. reads सनुद्दिको...
4—Ms. reads अद्यं

अल्पकृत्यो भगवतः श्रावको संघो सो भवति। शृणोतु मे भन्ते संघो अद्य[1] संघस्य पाञ्चदशिको पोषधो विशुद्धिनक्षत्रं यदि संघस्य प्राप्ताकालं संघो इमस्मिन् पृथिवीप्रदेशे यावतकं भिक्षुसंघेनाभिगृहीतं समन्तन-व्याममात्रं अत्रान्तरे पाञ्चदशिकं पो [4 B] षधं कुर्यात्प्रातिमोक्षं च सूत्रमुद्दिशेय्या, ओवदिका[1]त्रयाज्ञप्तेः ॥

करिष्यते भन्ते संघो इमस्मिन् पृथिवीप्रदेशे यावतकं भिक्षुसंघेना-भिगृहीतं समन्तन व्याममात्रमत्रान्तरे पाञ्चदशिकं पोषधं प्रातिमोक्षं च सूत्रमुद्दिशिष्यति। क्षमते तं संघस्य यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतन्धारयामि। अभिमुखं क्षामति जरामरणं क्षीयति जीवते प्रियं हायति सद्धर्म्मो अस्तमेति। धर्मोल्को निर्व्वापन्ति देशयितारः। परीत्ता भवन्ति प्रति-पत्तारः। गच्छन्ति क्षणलवमुहुर्त्तरात्रिन्दिवसमासार्द्धमासऋतु-सम्वत्सराः। गिरिनदीजलचपलचञ्चलोपमा आयुः। संस्कारामुद्धर्त्तमपि नावतिष्ठन्ते। अप्रमादेनायुष्मन्ते हि सम्पादयितव्यम्। तत्कस्य [5 A] हेतोः। अप्रमादाधिगतानां हि तथागतानामर्हतां सम्यक्सम्बुद्धानां बोधिः। अप्रमादाधिगतो चानुत्तरो उपधि संक्षपीति वदाम। तेनाप्रमा-देनायुष्मन्ते हि संपादयितव्यं। दशान्वसन् सम्पश्यमानास्तथागताऽ-र्हन्तः सम्यक् संबुद्धाः॥ श्रावकाणामधिशीलं शिक्षं पदं प्रज्ञापयन्ति। प्रतिमोक्ष च सूत्रमुद्दिशन्ति। कतमान्दश। संय्यथीदं। संघसंग्रहाय संघसुष्ठुताय। दुर्मंकुणनां पुद्गलानान्निग्रहाय पेशलानाञ्च भिक्षुणा फासु[2]विहाराय। अप्रसन्नानां प्रमादाय। प्रसन्नानाञ्च त्रयोभावाय दृष्ट-धार्मिकाणामाश्रवाणां निर्घाताय सम्परायिकाणामाश्रवाणामापत्या-मननुश्रंवणताय। यथेमं स्यात्प्र[3] [5 B] वचनं विरक्षितिकं वा भुजन्यं-विवृतं सुप्रकाशितं यावन्देवमनुष्येष्विति। इमान्दशान्चवसान्संपश्यमा-नास्तथागता अर्हन्तः सम्यक् सम्बुद्धाः। श्रावकाणामधिशीलं शिक्षपदं प्रज्ञापयन्ति। प्रतिमोक्षञ्च सूत्रमुद्दिशन्ति।

1—Ms. reads ओवयिका...
2—Ms. reads पांसुविहाराय
3—Ms. reads त्प्रावचनं

प्रातिमोक्षमायुष्मान्तो सूत्रमुद्दिशिष्यामि । तां शृणुत साधु च सुष्ठु च मनसि कुरुत भाषिष्यामि । यस्य वो सियापत्तिः सोऽविष्करोतु । असन्तीये आपत्तीये तूष्णी भवितव्यं । तूष्णीम्भावेन । खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो परिशुद्ध इति वेदयिष्यामि यथा खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो प्रत्येकं प्रत्येकं पृच्छितस्य भिक्षुस्य व्याकरणं भवति । एवमेव[1] मेवं रूपाये भिक्षुपर्याये यावन्तृतीयकं समनुश्रावयिष्यति । यो पुनर्भिक्षु [6 A] एवं रूपाये भिक्षुपर्याये यावन्तृतीयकं समनुश्राविययमाणो स्मरमाणो सन्ती[2]मापत्तीन्नाविष्करोति । संप्रज्ञानं मृषावादो मे भवति । संप्रजानमृषावादो खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो अन्तरायिको धर्म्मो उक्तो भगवता । तस्मात्स्मरमाणेन भिक्षुण आपन्ने विशुद्धि प्रेक्षेण सन्ती आपत्ती आविष्कर्त्तव्या । आविष्कृत्वा च मे फासु भवति नो अनाविष्कृत्वा । निदानं ॥

I.—THE FOUR PĀRĀJIKA DHARMAS.

इमे खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो चत्वारः पाराजिका धर्मा अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।

1. यो पुनर्भिक्षु भिक्षुणा शिक्षा सामीचीसमापन्नो शिक्षामाप्रत्याख्याय दौर्व्वल्यमनाविष्कृत्वा मैथुनं ग्राम्यधर्म्मं प्रतिषे[3]वेय अन्तमशतो [6B] तिर्यग्योनिगताय[4]मपि सा[5]र्द्धमय भिक्षुः पाराजिको भवत्यसंवास्यो न लभते भिक्षु हि सार्द्ध संवासं ।

इदं भगवता वेशालीयं शिक्षापदं प्रज्ञप्तं पञ्चवर्षाभिसंबुद्धेन हेमन्ते पक्षे पञ्चमे दिवसे द्वादशमे पूरे भुक्तमुत्तरामुखनिषण्णेन द्व्यर्द्धपौरुषायांच्छायायां आयुष्मन्तं यशिककलन्दकपुत्रमारभ्य इमस्य च शिक्षापदस्य प्रज्ञप्तिर्धर्मो यथा प्रणिहितस्य च या अनुवर्तनता अयमुच्यते अनुधर्मो ।

1—Four decorative symbols.

2—Ms. reads शन्तीमा

3—Notice the use of ष for स

4—र्ये in the Ms.

5—शा in the Ms.

२. यो पुनर्भिक्षू ग्रामाद्वा अरण्याद्वा अदिन्नमन्यातकं स्तैन्य-संस्कारमादियेय यथारूपेणादिन्नादानेन जानो गृहीत्वा हन्येम्वा वधेम्वा प्रव्राजेम्वा हम्भो पुरुष चोरोसि बालोसि मूढोसि स्तैन्योसीति वा वदेम्[1] [7A] तथारूपं भिक्षूरदिन्नमादेयमानो अयमे भिक्षूः पाराजिको भवत्य-सम्वास्यो न लभते भिक्षू हि सार्द्धसंवासं ।

इदं भगवता राजगृहे शिक्षापदं प्रज्ञप्तं षड्वर्षाभिसम्बुद्धेन हेमन्ते पक्षे द्वितीवसे नवमे पश्चाद्भुक्तं पुरस्तान्मुखनिषण्णेन । अर्द्धतीय-पौरुषायां च्छायायामायुष्मन्तं धनिकं कुम्भकारजातीयमारभ्य राजानञ्च श्रेणीयं बिम्बसारं पांसुकुलिकं च भिक्षु । इमस्य च शिक्षापदस्य प्रज्ञप्तिर्धर्मो यथा प्रणिहितस्य च या अनुवर्त्तनता अयमुच्यते अनुधर्मो[2] ।

३. यो पुनर्भिक्षुः स्वहस्तं मनुष्य[3]विग्रहं जीविताद् व्यपरोपेय शस्त्रहारकं वास्य पर्येषेय मरणाय चैनं[4] समादापेय मरणवर्णं वास्य संवर्णेय हम्भो पुरु [7B] ष किन्ते इमिना पापकेन दुज्जीवितेन विश्जीवितेन मृतन्ते जीविताच्छ्रेयो इति चित्तमलं चित्तसंकल्पमनेक-पर्यायेण मरणाय चैनं समादापेय मरणवर्णवास्य संवर्णेय सो च पुरुषो तेनोपक्रमेण कालं कुर्यान्नान्येन अयं पि भिक्षूः पाराजिको भवत्यसंवास्यो न लभते भिक्षुहि सार्धसंवासं[5] ।

इदं भगवता वैशालीयं शिक्षापदं प्रज्ञप्तं षड्वर्षोऽभिसंम्बुद्धेन हेमन्ते पक्षे तृतीये दिवसे दशमे पश्चाद् भुक्तं पुरस्ताभिमुखानिषण्णेन अर्द्धतृतीयेन पौरुषायांच्छायायां सम्बहुलान गिलानोपस्थापकान् भिक्षूनारभ्य मृगदण्डिकं च परिव्रजकमिमस्य च शिक्षापदस्य प्रज्ञ-प्तिर्द्धर्मो यथा प्रणिहितस्य च या अनुवर्त्तनता अयमुच्यते [8A] अनु-धर्मो ।

1—वर्देम् in the Ms.

2—Ms. Reads : अनुधम्ममों

3—स्य in the Ms.

4—चेनं in the Ms.

5—Ms. adds वासं superfluously.

4. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरनभिजाननुपरिजानन्नात्मोपनायिकमुत्तरि मनुष्य [धर्मं][1] इत् । अयं पि भिक्षुः धर्म्मसलमार्यज्ञानदर्शनं विशेषाधि-शेषाधिगम प्रतिजानेय इति जानामि इति पश्यामीति । सो तदपरेण समयेन समनुग्राहियमाणो, वा अ [स] मनुग्राहियमाणो वा आपन्नो विशुद्धिप्रेक्षो एवमवचि । अजानन्नेवाहमायुष्मन्तो अवचि जानामि । अयं पि पश्या[2]मीति इति तुच्छं मृषाविलापमन्यत्राभिमानात् । अयं पि भिक्षुः पाराजिको भवत्यसंवास्यो न लभते भिक्षूहि सार्द्धसं [वासं] ।

इदं भगवता श्रावस्तीयं शिक्षापदं प्रज्ञप्तं षड्वर्षाभिसंबुद्धेन हेमन्ते पक्षे चतुर्थे दिवसे त्रयोदशमे पूरे भुक्त[3] उत्तरामु [8B] खनिषण्णेन अर्द्धन्थ पौरुषायांच्छायायां सम्बहुलान् ग्रामवासिका भिक्षुनारभ्य आभिमानिकं च भिक्षु इमस्य च शिक्षापदस्य प्रज्ञप्तिर्द्धर्मो यथाप्रणि-हितस्य च या अनुवर्त्तनता अयमुच्यते अनुधर्मो ।

उद्यानं ॥ [1] मैथुनं [2] अदिन्नादानं [3] वधो मनुष्यविग्रहं [4] स्यात्कृतेन चोत्तरिमनुष्यधर्मं प्रतिजानतीति ॥

उद्दिष्ताः ॥ खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो चत्वारः पाराजिका धर्माः । येषां भिक्षुरितोन्यतरामापत्तिमापद्येत्वा पाराजिको भवत्यसम्वास्यो न लभते हि भिक्षुहि सार्द्धसंवासं । यथापूर्व्वे तथा पश्चाद्यथापश्चात्तथा पूर्व्वे पाराजिको भवत्यसम्वास्यो न लभते भिक्षु हि [सार्द्धं] संवासं । तत्रायुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्स्थ परिशुद्धाः । द्विती [9A] यं पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्स्थ परिशुद्धास्तृतीयं पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्स्थ परिशुद्धाः परिशुद्धात्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेव मेतं धारयामि ।

1—Words within [ ] are our additions.

2—Ms. reads पस्यामीति

3—Ms. reads भक्त

II.—THE THIRTEEN SAMGHĀTIŚESĀ DHARMAS.

इमे पुनरायुष्मन्तो त्रयोदश संघातिशेषा धर्मा[1] अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्धेशमागच्छन्ति ।

1. संचेतनिका ये शुक्रस्य[2] विशृष्तीये अन्यत्र स्वप्नान्तरें संघातिशेषो ।

2. यो पुनभिक्षु ओतीरणा विपरिणतेन चित्तेन मातृग्रामेण सार्द्धं कायसंसंग्गं समापद्येय संयथीदं हस्तग्रहणं वा वेणीग्रहणम्वा अन्यतरान्यतरस्य वा पुनरङ्गजातस्य प्रामोद्य शपरासोपिणं शादियेय संघातिशेषो ।

3. यो पुनभिक्षु ओतीरणा विपरीतेन चित्तेन मातृग्रामं दुस्थूलाय वाचाय ओभाषेय पापिकाय मैथुनाय सं [9B] वीताय संयथीदं युवां युवां युवतीति संघातिशेषो ।

4. यो पुनभिक्षु ओतीरणां विपरिणतेन चित्तेन मातृग्रामस्य अन्तिके आत्मिकाये परिचर्याये वरणं भाषेय एतदग्रं भगिनि परिचर्याणां या मादृशं श्रमणं शीलवन्तं कल्याणधर्मं ब्रह्मचारिं एतेन धर्मेण उपस्थिहेय परिचरेय यदुत मैथुनोपसंहितेनेति संघातिशेषो ॥

5. यो पुनभिक्षुः संचरित्रं समापद्येय स्त्रियाये[3] वा पुरुषस्योपसंहरेय पुरुष्यस्य वा सतं स्त्रियाये[4] उपसंहरेय जायत्तनेन वा जार्त्तनेन वा अन्तमसतो भिक्षुणि कायामपि संघातिशेषो ॥

6. स्वयं याचिकाय भिक्षुणा कुटी कारापयमाणेन अस्वा[5]मिकात्मोद्देशिकां कुटीकारापयितव्या । तत्रेदं प्रमाणं दी [10A] र्घसो द्वादशवितस्तीयो सुगतवितस्तिना । तिर्यक्क सप्तान्तरं भिक्षु चानोनाभिनेतव्या वस्तुदेशनाय ते हि भिक्षु हि वस्तु देशयितव्यं । अनारम्भां सपरिक्रमणं

1—Ms. reads धर्म्मा अनुत्र···

2—Ms. reads शुक्रश्य···

3, 4—Ms. reads इस्त्रियाये

5—Ms. reads श्वा

सारम्भे चे भिक्षु वस्तुस्मिन्नपरिक्रमणे[1] स्वयं याचिकाय कुटीं कारापेयं। अस्वामिकामात्मोद्देशिकं भिक्षुस्तानाभिनेय वस्तुदेसनाय। प्रमाणं वा अतिक्रमेय अदेशिते वस्तुस्मिन्नपरिक्रमणे संघातिशेषो।

7. महालकं भिक्षुणा विहारं [कारा] पयमाणेन सस्वामिककात्मोद्देशिकं भिक्षु त्रानेनाभिनेतव्या वस्तुदेशनाय ते हि भिक्षू हि वस्तु देशयितव्यं। अनारम्भः सपरिक्रमणं सारम्भे चे भिक्षूं वस्तुस्मिन्नपरिक्रमणं महल्लकं विहारं कारापेय सस्वामिकमात्मोद्देशिकं भिक्षुन्त्रा नाभिनेय वस्तुदेशना [10B] य अदेशिते वस्तुस्मिन्नपरिक्रमणे संघातिशेषो।

8. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षुस्य दुष्टो दोषात्कुपितो अनात्तमनो शुद्धं भिक्षूमनापतिकमसूलकेन पाराजिकेन धर्मेण अनुध्वंसेय अप्पेव नाम इमं भिक्षूं ब्रह्मचर्यातो च्यावेयन्ति। सो तदपरेण समयेन समनुग्राहियमाणो वा असमनुग्राहियमाणो वा अमूलकमेव तमधिकरणं भवति। अमूलकस्य च अधिकरणस्य च अधर्मो उपादिन्नो भवति। भिक्षु च दोषे प्रतिष्ठिहति। दोषादवचामीति संघातिशेषो।

9. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षुस्य दुष्टो दोषात्कुपितो अनात्तमनो अन्यभागीयस्याधिकरणस्य किञ्चिदेव लेसामात्रकं धर्ममुपादाय अपराजिकं भिक्षूं पराजिकेण धर्मेण अ [11A] नुध्वंसेय अप्पेव नाम इमं भिक्षुं ब्रह्मचर्यातो च्यावेयन्ति। सो तदपरेण समयेन समनुग्राहियमाणो वा असमनुग्राहियमाणो वा अन्यभागीयमेव तमधिकरणं भवति। अन्यभागीयस्य चाधिकरणस्य केचि [देव] लेसामात्रको धर्मो उपादिन्नो भवति। भिक्षु च दोषे प्रतिष्ठहति दोषादवचामीति संघातिशेषो।

10. यो पुनर्भिक्षुः समग्रस्य संघस्य भेदाय पराक्रमेय भेदनसम्वर्त्तनीयम्वाऽधिकरणं। समादाय प्रगृह्य तिष्ठेय सो भिक्षु भिक्षुहि एवमस्य वचनीयो मा आयुष्मन् समग्रस्य संघस्य भेदाय पराक्रमेहि। भेदन सम्वर्त्तनीयम्त्रा अधिकरणं समादाय प्रगृह्य तिष्ठाहि। समेत्त आयुष्मा-

1—याकाय in the Ms.

न्सार्द्धं संघेन समग्रोहि संघो स [11B] हितो सम्मोदमानो अविवदमानो एकुद्देशो क्षीरोदकी भूतो शास्तुः शासनं दीपयमानो सुखं च फासुञ्च विहरति। एवं च स भिक्षू भिक्षू हि वुच्यमानो तं वस्तुं प्रतिनिस्सरेय इत्येतं कुशलं। सो च प्रतिनिस्सरेय सो भिक्षू भिक्षू हि यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहितव्यो समनुभाषितव्यो तस्य वस्तुस्य प्रतिनिस्सग्गाय यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहियमाणो वा समनुभाषियमाणो वा। तं वस्तुं प्रतिनिस्सरेय इत्येतं कुशलं नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेय तमेव वस्तुसमादाय प्रगृह्य तिष्ठेय संघातिशेषो।

11. तस्य खो पुनर्भिक्षुस्य भिक्षुसहायका भोन्ति। एको वा द्वौ वा त्रयो वा सम्बहुला वा वग्गवादका अनुवत्तकाः समनुष्याः [12A] संघभेदाय ते भिक्षू तान्भिक्षूनेवं वदेय्य मा आयुष्मन्तो एतं भिक्षुं किञ्चिद्वदथ। कल्याणं वा पापकम्वा[1]। धर्म्मवादी चैषो भिक्षू विनयवादी चैषो भिक्षू अस्माकं चैषो भिक्षूच्छन्दश्च रुचिश्च समादाय प्रगृह्य व्यवहरति। य चैतस्य भिक्षुस्य क्षमते च रोचते च अस्माकमपि तं क्षमते च रोचते च जानन् चैषो भिक्षु भाषते नो अजानन्। ते भिक्षू भिक्षू हि एवमस्य वचनीया मायुष्मन्तो एवं वदथ न एषो भिक्षू धर्मवादी न एषो भिक्षू विनयवादी अधर्मवादी[2] चैषो भिक्षू अविनयवादी चैषो भिक्षू अजानन् चैषो भिक्षू भाषते नो जानन्। मा आयुष्मन्तो संघभेदं रोचेन्त संघसामग्रीमेवायुष्मन्तो रोचन्त। समेन्त आयुष्मन्तो सार्धं संघेन सम [12B] ग्रो हि संघो सहितो सम्मोदमानो अविवदमानो एकुद्देशो क्षीरोदकी भूतो शास्तुः शासनं दीपयमानो सुखं च फासुं च विहरति। एवञ्च ते भिक्षु भिक्षुहि वुच्यमानास्तम्वस्तुं प्रतिनिस्सरेञ्र[3] इत्येतं कुशलं नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेञ्र ते भिक्षू भिक्षू हि यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहितव्याः समनुभाषितव्याः। तस्य वस्तुस्य प्रतिनिस्सग्गाय यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहियमाणा वा समनुभाषियमाणा

1—Ms. पापकंम्वा

2—Ms. reads अधर्म्मवादी

3—प्रतिनिस्सरेय another variant form.

वा तम्वस्तुं प्रतिनिस्सरेय इतं कुशलं नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेसु तमेव च वस्तुं समादाय प्रगृह्य तिष्ठेय संघातिशेषो ।

12. भिक्षुः खो पुनदुर्वचकजातीयो भोति[1] सो उद्देश-पर्यापन्ने हि शिक्षापदे हि भिक्षु हि शिक्षायां सहधर्मेण सहविनयेन वुच्य [13A] मानो आत्मानमवचनीयं करोति । सो एवमाह । मा मां आयुष्मन्तो किञ्चिद्वदथ कल्याणं वा पापकं वा । अहमप्या-युष्मन्तानां न किञ्चिद्व प्रच्छामि । कल्याणं वा पापकं वा विरमन्वा-युष्मन्तो मम वचनाय । सो भिक्षू भिक्षू हि एवमस्य वचनीयो मा आयुष्मन्तुद्देशपर्यापन्ने हि शिक्षापदे हि भिक्षू हि शिक्षायां सहधर्मेण सह विनयेन वुच्यमानो आत्मानमवचनीयं करो हि वचनीयम् वायुष्मानात्मानं करोतु भिक्षु पि आयुष्मन्तम्वक्षन्ति शिक्षायां सहधर्मेण सहविन [येन] आयुष्मानपि भिक्षून्वदन्तु शिक्षया सहधर्मेण सहविन-येन । एवं सम्वद्धा खो पुनस्तस्य भगवतो तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक् सम्बुद्धस्य यथा यदिदमस्य मन्यस्य वचनीया अन्यो [13B] न्यापत्ति व्युत्थापनीया । एवं च सो भिक्षू भिक्षू हि वुच्यमानो तं वस्तुं प्रति-निस्सरेय इत्येतं कुशलं नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेय सो भिक्षू भिक्षू हि यावन्तृ-तीयकं समनुग्राहितव्यो समनुभाषितव्यो तस्य वस्तुस्य प्रतिनिस्सग्गाय यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहियमाणो वाभिवस्तुं प्रतिनिस्सरेय इत्येतं कुशलं नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेय तमेव वस्तुं समादाय प्रगृह्य तिष्ठेय संघातिशेषो ।

भिक्षु खो पुनरन्यतरं ग्रामम्वा नगरम्वा निगमम्वा उपनिश्राय विहरन्ति । कुलदूषकाः पापसमाचारास्तेषान्ते पापकाः समाचारा दृश्यन्ते च श्रूयन्ते च कुलान्यपि दुष्तानि दृश्यन्ते च श्रूयन्ते च कुलदूषकाश्च पुनर्भवन्ति । पापसमाचाराः ते भिक्षू भिक्षू हि एवमस्य व [14A] चनीयाः । आयुष्मन्तानां खलु पापकाः समाचाराः दृश्यन्ते च श्रूयन्ते च कुलान्यपि दुष्तानि दृश्यन्ते च श्रूयन्ते च । कुलदूषकाश्च पुनरायुष्मन्तः पापसमाचाराः प्रक्रमन्वायुष्मन्तो इमस्मादावासादलम्वा

1—Pali reads होति

इह वासेनेति[1]। एवं च ते भिक्षू भिक्षू हि वुच्यमानास्ते भिक्षू तान्भिक्षुने वदेय्य च्छन्दगामी चायुष्मान्तो संघो दोषगामी चायुष्मन्तो संघो मोहगामी चायुष्मन्तो संघो भयगामी चायुष्मन्तो संघो संघो च ताहि तादृशिकाहि आपत्तीहि। एकत्यान् भिक्षून् प्रव्राजेति एकत्यान्भिक्षून्न प्रव्राजेति ते भिक्षू भिक्षू हि एवंमस्य वचनीयाः। मा आयुष्मन्तो एवं वद न च भिक्षू न संघो च्छन्दगामी। न संघो दोषगामी न संघो मोहगामी। [14B] न संघो भयगामी। न च संघो ताहि तादृशिकाहि आपत्तीहि। एकत्यान्भिक्षून् प्रव्राजेति एकत्यान्भिक्षून्न प्रव्राजेति। आयुष्मन्तानामेव खलमापकः समाचारा दृश्यन्ते च श्रूयन्ते च कुलान्यपि दुष्तानि दृश्यन्ते च श्रूयन्ते च कुलदूपकाश्च पुनरायुष्मन्तः ग्रामसमाचाराः प्रक्रमन्वायुष्मन्तो इमस्मादावासा[2]दलस्वा इह वासेनेति[3] एवं च भिक्षू भिक्षू हि वुच्यमानाभिवस्तुप्रतिनिस्सरेय्य इत्येतं कुशलं नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेय्य ते भिक्षू भिक्षू हि यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहितव्या समनुभाषितव्यास्तस्य वस्तुस्य प्रतिनिस्सग्गाय यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहियमाणा वा समनुभाषियमाणा वा तं वस्तुं प्रतिनिस्सरेय्य इत्येतं कुशलं [15A] नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेय्य इमे च वस्तुं समादाय प्रगृह्य तिष्ठेय्य संघातिशेषो ॥

॥ उद्दानं ॥ [1] संचेतनिका [2] हस्तग्रहो [3] ओभाषो [4] परिचर्याव्वणनं [5] संचरित्रं [6–7] कुटीविहारोद्दे चा[4] दूतेन संघस्य च [10] भेदायोपक्रामति तस्य [11] चानुवर्त्तकाः [12] दुर्व्वचको [13] कुलदूषकाश्च ॥

॥ उद्दिष्ताः ॥ खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो त्रयोदशसंघातिशेषो धर्मास्तत्र नव प्रथमापत्तिकाश्चत्वारो यावन्तृतीयका येषां भिक्षु अन्यतरामा-

1—Ms. reads वुत्थेन

2—Ms. reads दलंम्वा

3—Ms. reads वुत्थेन

4—After Rule 7 in the Uddānaṁ Nos. 8 [अमूलकं] and 9 [लेशिकं] are missing in the Ms.

पत्तिमापतित्वा यावन्तकं जानन् [प्रति] च्छादेति तावन्तकं तेन भिक्षुणा अकामपरिवासं परिवसितव्यं। परिवुत्थ परिवासेन भिक्षुणा उत्तरिं षडाहं भिक्षुसंघे मानत्वं चरितव्यं। चिण्णमानत्वे भिक्षूः कृतानुधर्मो आहूयन प्रतिवद्येय अस्या [15B] विंशतिगणो[1] भिक्षू संघो तत्र सो भिक्षू आभ्रेयितव्यो। एक भिक्षुणापि वोदूनो विंशतिगणो भिक्षुसंघो तं भिक्षुमाभ्रेय सो च भिक्षू अनाभृतो ते च भिक्षू गार्ह्याः इयमत्र सामीची।

तत्रायुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः द्वितीयं पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः तृतीयमपि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः परिशुद्धा अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णी-मेवमेतं धारयामि।

III. THE TWO ANIYATA DHARMAS

इमे खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो दुवे अनियता धर्मा अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्देशमागच्छन्ति।

1. यो पुनर्भिक्षु मातुग्रामेण सार्द्धं प्रतिच्छन्नासने अलङ्कर्मणीये एकोयरहो निषद्यां कल्पेय तमेनं श्रद्धेय वचसा उपासिका दृष्ट्वा त्रयाणां धर्माणां मन्यतरान्यतरेण धर्मेण वादेय पाराजि (16A) केन वा संघातिशेषेण वा पाचत्तिकेन वा निषद्यो भिक्षुः प्रतिजानामानो त्रयाणां धर्माणामन्यतरान्यतरेण धर्मेण[1] कारापयितव्यो पाराजिकेन वा संघातिशेषेण वा पाचत्तिकेन वा येन येन वा पुनरस्य श्रद्धेय वचसा उपासिका दृष्ट्वा धर्मेण वदेय तेन सो भिक्षू धर्मेण कारापयितव्यो अयं धर्मो अनियतो।

2. नाहैव खो पुनः प्रतिच्छन्नासनम्भवति। नालंकर्मणीयं अलं खो पुन मातृग्रामं दुस्थूलाय वाचाय ओभाषितुं। पापिकाय मैथुनोप-संहिताय तथारूपेच भिक्षू आसने मातृग्रामेण सार्द्धमेको एकाय

1—Ms. reads द्विंशगणो

2—Ms. adds धर्म्मेण

रहो निषद्यां कल्पेय तमेनं श्रद्धेय वचसा उपासिका दृष्ट्वाद्विन्नान्धर्माणां मन्यतरान्यतरेण धर्मेण वदेय संघातिशेषेण वा ।। पाचत्ति [19B] केन वा निषद्यारिभक्षुः प्रतिजानमानो द्विन्नान्धर्माणामन्यतरान्तरेण धर्मेण कारापयितव्यो । संघातिशेषेण वा । पाचत्तिकेन वा । येन येन वा पुनरस्य श्रद्धेय वचसा उपासिका दृष्ट्वा धर्मेण वदेय तेन तेन सो भिक्षू धर्मेण कारापयितव्यो अयं पि धर्मो अनियतो ।।

उद्यानं ।। [1] प्रतिच्छन्नासनं [2] रहोनिषद्याश्च ।।

उद्दिष्ट्वाः ।। खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो दुवे अनियता धर्मा स्तत्रायुष्मन्तो प्रच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः द्वितीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धास्तृतीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः परिशुद्धाः अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतं धारयामि ।।

IV· THE THIRTY NIHSARGIKA PĀCATTIKA DHARMAS.

इमे खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो त्रिंशन्निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिका धर्मा अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उ [17A] द्देशमागच्छन्ति ।

1, कृतचीवरे हि भिक्षू हि उद्धृतस्मिन्कठिने दशाहपरमं भिक्षुणा अतिरेकचीवरन्धारयितव्यं । तदुत्तरिन्धारेय निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकं ।

2, कृतचीवरे हि भिक्षू हि उद्धृतस्मिन्कठिने एकरात्रं पि चेतिभक्षु त्रयाणां चीवराणां मन्यतरान्यतरेण विप्रवसेय अन्यत्र संघसमुतीये निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ।।

3, कृतचीवरे भिक्षु हि उद्धृतस्मिन्कठिने उत्पद्येय भिक्षुस्य अकालचीवरमाकांक्षमाणेन भिक्षुणा प्रतिगृह्णितव्यं प्रतिगृह्णीत्वा क्षिप्र[1] मेव तं चीवरं कारापयितव्यं। कारापयतो च तस्य भिक्षूस्य तं चीवरं न परिपूरेय मास परमन्तेन भिक्षुणा तं चीवरं निक्षिपितव्यं ।

1—Ms. adds भि

ऊनस्य पारिपूरीये सन्तीये प्रत्याशाये तदुत्तरिनिक्षिपेये सन्तीये वा अ [17B] सन्तीये वा प्रत्याशाये निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ।

4. यो पुनर्भिक्षूरन्यातिकाये भिक्षुणीये चीवरं प्रतिगृह्णेय अन्यत्र परिवर्त्तकेन निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

5. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरन्यातिकाये भिक्षुणीये पुराणचीवरधोवायेय वा रंजस्येय वा आकोथोपेय वा निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ।

6. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरन्यातकं[1] गृहपतिं वा गृहपतिपुत्रं[2] वा चीवरं याचेय अन्यत्रसमये निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

तत्रायं समयो[3] अच्छिन्नचीवरो भिक्षू भवति । अयमत्रसमयो ।

7. अच्छिन्नचीवरेण भिक्षुणा क्षमते अन्यातकं गृहपतिम्वा गृहपतिपुत्रं वा चीवरं याचितुं । तमेनमभिभाष्तो सम्मतो संबहुले हि चीवरे हि प्रवारेय तथा प्रवारितेन भिक्षुणा सन्तरोत्तरपरमं चीवरं [18A] सादयितव्यं तदुत्तरिं सादियेय निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

8. भिक्षुं खो पुनरुद्दिश्य अन्यतरेषां द्विन्नां गृहिपतिकानां चीवरे चेतापनान्यः अन्यानि उपसंस्कृतानि भवन्ति प्रतिसंचेतयितानि इमे हि वयं चीवरचेतापने हि चीवरं चेतापयित्वा इत्थन्नामं भिक्षुं चीवरेणाच्छादयिष्यामः । तत्र च भिक्षुः पूर्व्वे अप्रवारितो उपसंक्रमित्वा विकल्पमापद्येय साधु खो पुन यूयं आयुष्मन्तो इमे हि चीवरचेतापने हि चीवरं चेतापयित्वा इत्थं नामं भिक्षुं चीवरेणाच्छादेथ । एवंरूपेण च उभौ पि सहितौ एकेन कल्याणकामतामुपादाय प्रतिनिष्पन्ने चीवरे नि[4]सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

1—The Sarvastivadin text reads अज्ञातिक 2—The Pali, Sans. Sarvastivādin and Chinese Msg. say that it is गृहपतिपत्नी (householder's wife) 3—The Sarvāstivādin text reads नष्टचीवरेण वा दग्धचीवरेण वारूढचीवरेण वा The Mahiṣaśikas read here only one case—the other time means when his robe is lost.

This text agrees with the Mahiṣaśika version. The Chinese Msg. too agrees with the Mahiṣaśika version.

4—Ms. reads निर्गिक

9. भिक्षुं खो पुनरुद्दिश्य अन्यतरेषां द्विन्नां गृहपतिकस्य गृहपति- [18B] नीये च प्रत्येक चीवरचेतापनानि प्रतिसंस्कृतानि भवन्ति प्रतिसंचेतापितानि इमे हि वयं प्रत्येक चीवरचेतापने हि प्रत्येकं प्रत्येकं चीवरं चेतापयित्वा इत्थं नामं भिक्षुं प्रत्येकं प्रत्येकं चीवरेणाच्छादयिस्यामः। तत्र च भिक्षुः पूर्व्वं अप्रवारितो उपसंक्रमित्वा विकल्पमापद्येय साधु खो पुनस्तमायुष्मन् त्वं च भगिनि इमे हि प्रत्येक चीवर चेतापनेहि प्रत्येकं चीवरं चेतापयित्वा इत्थं नामं भिं प्रत्येकं चीवरेणा- च्छादेथ। एवं रूपेण वा एवं रूपेण वा उभौ पि सहितौ। एकेन कल्याणकामतामुपादाय प्रतिनिष्पन्ने चीवरे निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

10. भिक्षु खो पुनरुद्दिश्य अन्यतरो राजा वा राजभोग्यो वा दूतेन चीवरचे [19A] तापनानि प्रेषेँय सो भिक्षुस्तेनोपसंक्रमित्वा तं भिक्षुमेवं वदेय इमानि खल्वार्यमुद्दिश्य इत्थन्नामेन राज्ञा च राज- भोग्येन वा दूतेन चीवरचेतापनानि प्रेषितानि तानि आर्यो प्रतिगृह्णातु। तेन भिक्षुणा सो दूतो एवमस्य वचनीयो न खो पुनरायुष्मन् क्षमते भिक्षुस्य चीवरे चेतापनानि प्रतिगृह्णीतुं। चीवरन्तु वयं प्रतिगृह्णामः कालेन समयेन कल्पिकं दीयमानं। एवमुक्तो सो दूतो तं भिक्षुमेव वादयन्ति। पुनरार्य केचिद्भिक्षुणां वैयापृत्यङ्करोति। आकांक्षमाणे[1] न भिक्षुणा सन्ता वैयापृत्यंकरं व्यपदिशितव्याः। आरामिका वा एते आयुष्मन् भिक्षुणा वैयापृत्यंकराये भिक्षुणां वैयापृत्यं करोन्ति। एवमुक्तो सो दूतो येन [19B] वैयाप्रत्यंकरास्तेनोपसंक्रमित्वा तन्वै- याप्रत्यंकरानेवं वदेय साधु खो पुन यूयमायुष्मन्तो वैयाप्रत्यंकरा इमे हि चीवरचेतापने हि चीवरं चेतापयित्वा इत्थं नाम भिक्षुं चीवरेणाच्छादेथ। कालेन समयेन कल्पिकेनानवद्येन सो च दूतो तान्वैयापृत्यंकरान् संज्ञापयित्वा येन सो भिक्षुस्तेनोपसंक्रमित्वा[1] भिक्षूमेव वदेय ये खलु[3] आर्येण वैयापृत्यंकरा व्यपदिष्टास्ते मया

1—Ms. आकांक्षमाणोन

2—Ms. adds नि

3—Ms. reads खति

संज्ञाप्तास्तामुपसंक्रमेथामि आच्छादयिष्यन्ति। ते चीवरेण कालेन समयेन कल्पिकेनानवद्यो न आकांक्षमाणेन भिक्षुणा चीवरान्विकेन ते वैयापृत्यकरास्तेनोपसंक्रमित्वा ते वैयापृत्यंकराः। सकृत द्वित्थिखुत्तो त्रित्थुखुतो याचयितव्या विज्ञापयितव्याः। [20A] अथो आयुष्मन्तो भिक्षुस्य चीवरेण भिसकृत द्विक्खुत्तो त्रिक्खुत्तो चोदयन्तो विज्ञापयन्तो तं चीवरमभिनिष्पादेय इत्येतत्कुशलनोचेदभिनिष्पादेय चतुक्खुत्तो पञ्चखुत्तो षड्खुत्तो परमन्तेन भिक्षुणा तूष्णीं भूतेन उद्देशे स्यातव्यं। चतुक्खुत्तो पञ्चक्खुत्तो षड्क्खुत्तो परमं तूष्णीभूतो उद्देशे तिष्ठन्तो तं चीवरमभिनिष्पादेय इत्येतत्कुशलं नोचेदभिनिष्पादेय तं हुत्तयन्तो वाच्यायमन्तो वातं चीवरमभिनिष्पादेय अभिनिष्पन्ने चीवरे निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥ नो चेदभिनिष्पदेय येन सेतानि राज्ञा वा राजभोग्येन वा इतेन चीवरचेतापनानि प्रेषितानि। तत्र तेन भिक्षुणा स्वयं वागन्त व्यं। इतो वा प्रतिरूपो प्रेषयितव्यो यानि ख आयु [20B] ष्मन्त हि इत्थं नामं भिक्षूमुद्दिश्य इतेन चीवरचेतापनानि प्रेषितानि न ख तानि तस्य भिक्षुस्य किञ्चिदर्थ्यम्करोन्ति। युञ्जन्ते यः यथैनं सकं धर्म्मा सो विप्रणधिशिष्यतीति इयमनुसामीची।

उद्दानं ॥ [1] दशाहं [2] विप्रवासो [3] अकाले च [4] प्रतिग्रहो [5] धोवना [6] याचना [7-8] चिवरसान्तरोत्तरं द्वे च [9] विकल्पेन [10] राजा च। प्रथमो वग्गः ॥

11. यो पुनर्भिक्षुः शुद्धकाणकानामेडकलोमानांन्नवं सन्थतं कारापेय निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

12. नवं सन्थतं भिक्षुणा कारापयमाणेनशुद्धकाणकानामेडकलोमानां द्वे भागा आदयितव्यास्तृतीयो ओदातिकानां चतुत्थो गोचरिकाणां तदुत्तरिमादियेय निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम्।

13. यो पुनर्भिक्षूः कौशेय मिश्राणामेडक [21A] लोमानान्नवं सन्थतं कारापेय निसर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

14. नवं सन्थतं भिक्षुणा कारापयमाणेन प्रकामं षड्वर्षाणि

धारयितव्यं । ततो च भिक्षुः भत्योत्तरेण पुराणे सन्थतं विसर्ज्जयित्वा वा अविसर्ज्जयित्वा वा अन्यन्नवसन्थतं कारापेय कल्याणकामता-ह्युपादेय अन्यत्र[1] सम्मुतीये निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ।

15. नवं सन्थतं निषीदनं भिक्षुणा कारापयमाणेन, ततो पुराण-सन्थतातो समन्तात्सुगतवितस्तिना भागो आदयितव्यो नवस्य दुव्वर्णीकरणाथ ततो च भिक्षुरनादाय नवसंस्थतं निषीदनं कारापेय निसर्ग्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

16. भिक्षुस्य खो पुनरध्वानमार्गे प्रतिपन्नस्य उत्पद्येन्न एडक-लोमानि आकांक्षमाणेन भिक्षुणा प्रतिगृह्णित [21B] व्यं क्षिप्रतिगृत्वा सामं त्रियोजनपरमं हर्त्तव्यमन्ते अन्यस्मिहारके तदुत्तरिं हारेयमन्ते वा असन्ते वा अन्यस्मिहारके निसर्गिक[2] पाचत्तिकम् ।

17. यो पुन भिक्षुरन्यातिकाये भिक्षुणीये एडकलोमानि धोवायेय वा रंजायेय वा । विजटापयेद्[3] वा निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ।

18. यो पुनभिक्षुः स्वहस्तं जातरूपरजतमुद्गृह्णयेय वा उद्गृह्णायेय अन्तमसतो इह निक्षिपेहीति वा वदेय । उपनिक्षिप्तं वा सादियेय निःस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

19. यो पुनभिक्षुरनेकविधं क्रय विक्रयं व्यवहारं समापद्येय संय्यथीदं इमं क्रिण इतो क्रिण एत्तक सेत्तके क्रीणाहीति वा वदेय निःसर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

20. यो पुनभिक्षुरनेकविधं जातरूपरजतविक्र [22A] तिव्यवहारं समापद्येय निःसर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

उद्दानं । [11-12] शुद्धकालकानां द्वे भागा [13] कौशेयमिश्र [14] षड्वर्षाणि [15] निषीदनं [16] अध्वानमार्गो [17] विजटापेय[4] [18] स्वहस्तं [19] क्रयविक्रय [20] विक्रतिव्यवहारेण ॥द्वितीयो वर्गः ॥

1—Ms. adds नमत The Sarvastivādin text reads संघसम्मत्या pp. 497, *Journal Asiatique* 1913.

2—Ms. reads निशर्गिक 3—The Sarvāstivādin text reads विजटापयेद् वा. The Ms. reads विचटाये यथा.

4—Ms. reads विवटापेय.

21. दशाहपरमं भिक्षुणा अतिरेकपात्रं धारयितव्यं तदुत्तरिं धारेय निःस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

22. यो पुनर्भिक्षू उनपञ्चबन्धनबद्धेन पात्रेण अन्यं नवं पात्रं पर्यायेय इमाताम्रुपादाय। तेन भिक्षुणा तं पात्रं भिक्षूपर्याये निःसरितव्यं। यो तहि भिक्षू पर्याये पात्रपर्यन्तो भवति। सो तस्य भिक्षुस्य अनुप्रदातव्यो। एवं ते आयुष्मान्पात्रो भारयितव्यो यावद्भेदन [निस्सर्गिक] पाचत्तिकम्।

23. यानि खो पुनरिमानि गिलानप्रतिपेषणीयानि भैष [22B] जानि भवन्ति। संय्यथीदं सर्पिस्तैलमधुफाणितं। एवं रूपाणि गिलानेन भिक्षुणामकृत्याभिगृहीतानि क्षमते। सप्ताहं सन्निधिकारं परिभुजितं। सन्तशेषन्निस्सरितव्यं। तदुत्तरितव्यं तदुत्तरिं खादेय वा भुंजेय वा सन्तशेषन्न[1] निस्सरेय निःस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम्।

24. यो पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षुस्य चीवरं दत्त्वा यथादुष्टो दोषात्कुपितो अनादमानो आच्छान्देय वा आच्छान्दापेय वा आहर [ति] भिक्षुचीवरं न ते ददेमीति वा वदेय[2] निःसर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

25. मासो शेषो ग्रीष्माणोमिति भिक्षुणा वर्षाशाटिका चीवरपर्येषितव्यं अर्द्धमासो अवशिष्टोति कृत्वा प्रुषितव्यम् ॥ ततो च भिक्षुः प्रत्यांतरेण वर्षाशाटिका चीवरं पर्ये [23A] षेय कृत्वा वास्तायेय निः सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम्।

26. यो पुनर्भिक्षूः स्वयं याचिकाय सूत्रन्तन्तुवायेन चीवरं धुनायेय निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम् ॥

27. भिक्षूं खो पुनरुद्दिश्य अन्यतरो गृहपतिर्व्वा गृहपतिपुत्रो वा तन्तुवायेन चीवरं धुनायेय ते एव भिक्षूः पूर्व्वे अप्रवारितो उपसंक्रमित्वा

1—Ms. reads सन्त आ शेषभु...

2—The Chinese Msg. has not got the phrase आहरति भिक्षुचीवरं न ते ददेमीति वा वदेय ॥

विकल्पमापद्येय साधु खो पुनस्त्वमायुष्मन्निमं चीवरमायतं च करोहि विस्तृतं च करोहि सुवुत्तं[1] च करोहि। सुतच्छितं च करोहि सुविलिखितं च करोहि। अप्पेव नाम वयं पि तवकिञ्चिदेव मात्रामुपसंहरेम। माषकम्वा। माषकार्द्धम्वा पिण्डपात्रम्वा पिण्डपात्राहिम्वा। तत्र च सो भिक्षुरेवं वदित्वा न किञ्चिदेवमात्रामुपसंहरेय। माषकम्वा। माषका- [23B] र्द्धम्वा। पिण्डपात्रम्वा पिण्डपात्राहिम्वा। अ[2] भिनिष्पन्ने चीवरे निसर्गिक पाचत्तिकम्॥

28. द[3] शाहानागतं खो पुनत्रैमासं कार्तिकीः पौर्ण्णमासी उत्पद्येय भिक्षूस्य आत्यायिकं चीवरमत्यायिकं मन्यमानो न भिक्षुणा प्रति- गृह्णितव्यं[4]। [24A] {प्रतिगृह्णित्वा यावच्चीवरदानकालसमयं निक्षि- पितव्यं। तदुत्तरिं निक्षिपेय निसर्गिक पाचत्तिकम्।

29. उपवर्ष खो पुनः त्रैमासं कार्तिकी पौर्ण्णमासी भिक्षुचारण्यके शयनासने विहरन्ति। सभये सप्रतिभये। सशंक सम्मते। आकांक्ष- माणेन भिक्षुणा त्रयाणां चीवराणामन्यतरान्यतरं चीवरं अन्तरगृहे निक्षिपितव्यं। स्यात्तस्या भिक्षूस्य कोचिदेव प्रत्ययो तस्माच्चीवरा- द्विप्रवासाय षडाहपरमन्तेन} भिक्षुणा तस्माच्चीवराद्विप्रवसितव्यं। तदुत्तरिं विप्रवसेय अन्यत्र दीर्घसम्मुतेये, निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम्।

30. यो पुनर्भिक्षू जानन् सांघिकां लाभं संघे परिणतमात्मनो परिणामेय निस्सर्गिक पाचत्तिकम्॥

उद्दानं। [21] पात्र [22] बन्धनं [23] भैषज्ञ [24] आच्छेदो [25] वर्षाशाष्टिका [26-27] तन्तुवायेन द्वे [28] दशाहानागत [29] मुपवर्ष [30] परिणामनेन तृतीयो वर्गः॥

उद्दिष्ताः। खो पुन [24B] रायुष्मन्तो त्रिंशन्निःसर्ग्गिक पाचत्तिका धर्म्मास्तत्रायुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः द्वितीयम्पि

1—Pāli text सुवितन् 2—Ms. adds ह 3—Ms. reads स्ता

4—The porition within { } has been repeated in the Ms.; the better reading has been retained. The second copyist probably recopied something from the earlier Ms.

आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः। तृतीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः। परिशुद्धात्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतं धारयामि।

V. THE NINETY-TWO PĀCATTIKA DHARMAS.

इमे खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो द्वानवतिं शुद्धपाचत्तिका धर्मा अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्देशमागच्छन्ति।

1. संप्रजानमृषावादे पाचत्तिकम्।

2. ओमृष्यवादे पाचत्तिकम्।

3. भिक्षुपिशुन्ये पाचत्तिकम्।

4. यो पुनर्भिक्षू जानं संघस्याधोकरणानि। धर्म्मेण विनयेन विहितानि व्युपशान्तानि पुनः कर्म्माय उखोटेय इदं पुनः कर्म्मकर्त्तव्यं भविष्यतीति एतदेव प्रत्ययं कृत्वा अनन्यस्मिन्तस्य भिक्षूस्य उखोटनं पाचत्तिकम्।

5. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरकल्पियकारो मातृग्रामस्य धर्मदेशेय उत्तरिच्छहि पञ्चाहि वाचाहि अन्यत्र विज्ञपुरुष पु [25A] द्गलेन पाचत्तिकम्।

6. यो पुनर्भिक्षूरनुपसंपन्नं पुद्गलं पदशो धर्म्मवाचेय पाचत्तिकम्।

7. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरनुपसंपन्नस्य पुद्गलस्य सन्तिके आत्मोपनायिकमुत्तरिमनुष्यधर्म्ममलमार्यज्ञानदलनं द्विशेषाधिगमम्प्रतिजानेय इति जानामि इति पश्यामीति भूमि तस्मिं पाचत्तिकम्॥

8. यो पुनर्भिक्षूज्जानन् भिक्षूस्य दुष्ठूल्लामापत्तिमनुपसंपन्नस्य पुद्गलस्य सन्तिके आरोचेय अन्यत्र कृतये प्रकाशनासम्मुतीये पाचत्तिकम्।

9. यो पुनर्भिक्षुर्ज्ञानसांघिके लाभे भाजीयमाने पूर्व्वे समनुज्ञो भूत्वा पश्चात्खियया धर्म्ममापद्येय यथासंस्तुतमेवायुष्मन्तो यानं सांघिकं लाभं संघे परिणतं पुद्गलो पुद्गलस्य परिणामयतीति पाचत्तिकम्॥

10. यो पुनर्भिक्षूरन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्दिश्यमाने एवं वदेय किं पुनरायुष्मन्तो इमे हि क्षुद्राश्च क्षूद्रे हि [25B] शिक्षापदे हि उद्दिष्ते हि यावदेव भिक्षुणां कौकृत्याय विघाताय[1] विलेखाय संवर्त्ततीति शिक्षाविगर्हणपाचत्तिकम् ॥

उद्दानम् । [1] मृषा [2] ओमृष्य [3] पेशुन्य [4] उत्खोटन [5] धर्म्मेदेशना [6] पदशो [7] विशेषण [8] भारोचना [9] यथा-संस्तुत [10] विगर्हणेन ॥ प्रथमो वग्गः ॥

11. बीजग्रामभूतग्राम पातापनके[2] पाचत्तिकम् ॥

12. अन्यवाद विहिंसनके पाचत्तिकम् ॥

13. ओध्यायन क्षीयनके पाचत्तिकम् ॥

14. [3]यो पुनर्भिक्षूः सांघिके भिक्षुविहारे अभ्यवकाशे मञ्चम्वा पीठम्वा विशिकरम्वा चतुरग्रकं वा कुच्चम्वा बिम्बोहनम्वा प्रज्ञायेयत्वा वा । प्रज्ञापायत्वा वा ततो प्रक्रमन्तो न उद्धरेय वा न उद्धरायेय वा अनामन्त्रयित्वा वा प्रक्रमेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

15. यो पुनर्भिक्षूः सांघिके भिक्षुविहारे अन्तोशय्यां प्रज्ञायेत्वा प्रज्ञयायेत्वा [वा]। ततो प्रक्रमन्तो न उद्धरेय वा न उद्धरायेय वा [26 A] अनामन्त्रयित्वा वा प्रक्रमेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

16. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षूस्य दुष्तो दुषान्कुपितो अनात्तमनो सांघिका भिक्षुविहारा भिक्षून्निकढेय वा निकढ्ढायेय वा अन्तमसतो निहि भिक्षूति वा वादेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

17. यो पुनर्भिक्षु सांघिके भिक्षूविहारे जानन्भिक्षूणां पूर्व्वप्रज्ञप्ता हि शय्यां हि पश्चादगत्वा मध्ये शय्यां प्रज्ञायेय यस्योद्वहिष्यति सो

1—This reading is missing in the Sarvāstivādin text; the Pāli text reads विहेसाय.

2—The Sarvāstivādin text reads पातनात्; the Pāli text reads पातब्यताय. Pac. IX p. 34 (Oldenberg.)

3—Compare with the Chinese Msg.

प्रक्रमिष्यतीति एतदेव प्रत्ययं कृत्वा अनन्यमिमं तस्य भिक्षुस्य उद्वाहन पाचत्तिकम् ॥

18. यो पुनर्भिक्षुः सांघिके भिक्षूविहारोपरि वैहायसं कुटिकाये आहत्य पादके मंचे वा पीठे वा अभिनिषीदेय वा अभिनिपद्येय वा पाचत्तिकम् ॥

19. यो पुनर्भिक्षूज्जानन्सप्राणकेनोदकेन तृणं वा मृत्तिकां वा सिंचेय वा सिंचायेय वा पाचत्तिकम् ॥

20. महल्लकं भिक्षुणा विहारं छादापयमानेन यावद्वारकोषा अगलप्रतिष्ठान [26B] मालोकसन्धिपरिकर्म्ममुपादाय द्वे वा त्रयो वा च्छादनपर्याया अधिष्ठिहितव्याः। अल्पहरिते स्थितेन तदुत्तरिं अधिष्ठिहेय अल्पहरिते स्थितोपि पाचत्तिकम् ॥

उद्दानं [11] बीजं [12] अन्यवादं [13] उध्यायनं [14] मञ्च [15] सय्या [16] निकड्ढनं [17] पूर्व्वोपगतं [18] वैहायसं [19] उदक [20] च्छादनेन ॥ द्वितीयोवर्गः ॥

21. यो पुनर्भिक्षू असम्मतो भिक्षुणीमोवदेय पाचत्तिकम्।

22. सम्मतोवापि भिक्षूः भिक्षूणीमोवदेय विकाले अस्तंगते सूर्ये अनूहते अरुणे पाचत्तिकम् ॥

23. यो पुनर्भिक्षू ओवादप्रेक्षो भिक्षुणी उपाश्रयमुपसंक्रामेय सन्तं भिक्षूमनामन्त्रयित्वा अन्यत्र समये पाचत्तिकम् ॥

तत्रायं समयो गिलानाभिक्षुणी ओवदितव्याः अनुशासितव्याः भवति अयमत्रसमयो ॥

24. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षुमैवं वदेय आमिषहेतो आयुष्मन्भिक्षू[1] भिक्षूणीं ओवदतीति पाचत्तिकम् ॥

25. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भि [27A] क्षूणीय सार्धमेको एकाएरहो निषद्यां कल्पेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

1.—Ms. गायुष्मन्

26. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षुणीयसार्धं संविधाय अध्वानमार्गं प्रतिपद्येय अन्तमसतो ग्रामान्तरं पि अन्यत्रसमये पाचत्तिकम् ॥ तत्रायं समयो मागो भवति । सभयो सप्रतिभयो सासंकसम्मंतो अयमत्र समयो ।

27. यो पुनर्भिक्षु भिक्षुणीयसार्धं संविधाय एकनावां अभिरुहेय उर्द्धगामिनीम्वा अधोगामिनीम्वा अन्यत्र तिर्यात्तरणाय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

28. यो पुनर्भिक्षू अन्यातिकाये भिक्षुणीये चीवरं दद्यादन्यत्र पतुन्तकेन[1] पाचत्तिकम् ॥

29. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरन्यातिकाये भिक्षुणीये चीवरं सीवेय वा सीवायेय वा पाचत्तिकम् ॥

30. यो पुनर्भिक्षूर्जानन्भिक्षुणी परिपाचितं पिन्डपात्रं परिभुंजेय अन्यत्र पूर्व्वेगृही[2] समारम्भे पाचत्तिकम् ॥

उद्यानं ॥ [21] असम्मतो [22] सम्मतोरपि [23] ओवादो [24] आमिषं [25] निषद्याच [26] अध्वानमार्गो [27] नावा च [28] [27B] देति । [29] सीवेति [30] परिपाचनेन ॥ तृतीयो वर्गः ॥

31. एकाहपरमं भिक्षुणा अगिलानेन अवसथपिन्डपात्रो[3] परिभुंञ्जितव्या तदुत्तरिं परिभुंज्ये पाचत्तिकम् ॥

32. परम्पराभोजने अन्यत्र समये पाचत्तिकम् ।

[4]तत्रायं समयो । गिलानसमयो चीवरदानकालसमयो अयमत्र समयो[5] ।

33. यो पुनर्भिक्षुर्भुंञ्जावीप्रवारितो उत्थितो आसनातो अनतिरिक्तं

1—Pāli text reads पारिवत्तका (exchange).

—Chinese Msg. reads here "old donor".

—Ms. reads अवशथपिन्डपात्रो.

4—The Sarvāstivādin reads तत्रायं समयो गिलानसमयो चीवरदानसमयो. The Pāli text reads गिलानसमयो चीवरदानसमयो चीवरकारसमयो.

5—Superfluous reading तत्रायं समयो गिलानसमयो पाचत्तिक्म in the Ms.

कृतं खादनीयं वा भोजनीयं वा खादेय वा भुञ्जेय वा पाचत्तिकम् ॥

34. यो पुनर्भिक्षुर्जानन्भिक्षू भुक्ताविम्नारितमुत्थितमासनातो आसादनाप्रेक्षो अनतिरिक्तकृतेन खादनीयेन वा भोजनीयेन वा उपनिमन्त्रेय एहि भिक्षु खादाहि भुंजाहीति वा वदेय भुक्तस्मिं पाचत्तिकम् ॥

35. यो पुनर्भिक्षूरदिन्नमप्रतिग्राहितं मुखद्वारिकमाहारमाहारेय अन्यत्रोदक दन्तपोणे पाचत्तिकम् ॥

36. [28A] विकालाभोजने पाचत्तिकम् ।

37. सन्निधेकार भोजने पाचत्तिकम् ।

38. भिक्षुं खो पुनः कूले हि उपसंक्रान्तं. प्रवारेत्सुपूर्वेहि वा मन्थे हि वा तथा प्रवारितेन भिक्षुणा यावन्त्रिपात्रपूरपरमं ततो प्रतिगृह्णितव्यं । प्रतिगृह्णित्वा बहिर्द्धानीहरितव्यं बहिर्द्धानीहरित्वा अगिलानके हि भिक्षू हि सार्धं सम्विभजित्वा खादितव्यं भुंजितव्यं तदुत्तरिं प्रतिगृह्णित्वा बहिर्द्धानीहरित्वा अगिलानके हि भिक्षू हि सार्द्धं सम्विभजित्वा वा असंविभजित्वा वा खादेव वा भुंजेय वा पाचत्तिकम् ।

39. यानि खो पुनरिमानि प्रणीतसम्मतानि भोजनानि भवन्ति संय्यथीदं सर्पिस्तिलं मधुफाणितं दुग्धं दधि मत्स्यं मासं यो पुनर्भिक्षूरेवं रूपाणि प्रणीतसम्मतानि भोजनानि आत्मात्थाय अगिलानो कूले हि विज्ञेपेत्वा वा विज्ञापयेत्वा वा खादेय वा भुंजेय पाचत्तिकम् ।

40. गणभोजने अन्यत्रसमये पाच [28B] त्तिकं ।

तत्रायं समयो गिलानसमयो चीवरदानकालसमयो अध्वानगमनसमयो नावाभिरोहणसमयो महासमयो श्रवणभुक्तं अयमत्रसमयो ।

उद्यानं । [31] आवसथो [32] परम्परा [33] प्रवारणा [34] आसदना [35] अदिन्नं [36] विकालं [37] संनिधिं [38] मन्थां [39] विज्ञप्तिः [40] गणभोजनेन ॥ चतुर्थो वर्गः ॥

41. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरात्मार्थाय अगिलानो क्षोभिस्मिन्वितापना प्रेक्षो। तृणं वा काष्ठं वा गोमयं वा सकलिकांवा ओघम्वा संकारम्वा आदपहेय वा आदहायेय वा अन्यत्र समये पाचत्तिकम्।

42. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरनुपसंपन्नेन पुद्गलेन सार्द्धं उत्तरि द्विरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा सहगारशय्यां कल्पेय पाचत्तिकम्।

43. यो पुनर्भिक्षुर्भिक्षूणां कर्मणाच्छन्दन्दत्वा पश्चाद्दुष्टो दोषात्कुपितो अनात्तमनो एवं वदेय अदिन्नं मे च्छन्दो दुर्दिन्नो मे च्छन्दो अकृतान्येतानि कर्माणि दुष्कृतान्येतानि कर्माणि नाहमे [29A] तेषां कर्मणाच्छन्दं देमीति वदेय पाचत्तिकम्॥

44. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षूमेवं वदेय एहि त्वं मायुष्मान्ग्रामं पिन्डाय प्रविशिष्यामः। अहञ्च ते तत्र किञ्चिदापयिष्यं। सो तत्र तस्य किञ्चिदापयित्वा वा अदापयित्वा वा पश्चादुद्योजनं प्रक्षो एवं वदेय गच्छ त्वमायुष्मन्नमे त्वया सार्धं फासु[1] भवति कथाय वा निषद्याय वा। एकस्यै च मम फासु भवति। कथाय वा निषद्याय वा एतदेव प्रत्ययं कृत्वा अनन्यमिमन्तस्य भिक्षुस्य उद्योजन पाचत्तिकम्।

45. यो पुनर्भिक्षु भिक्षूनेवं वदेय तथाहमायुष्मान्तो भगवता धर्म्मन्देशितमाजानामि यथा ये इमे अन्तरायिका धर्मा उक्ता भगवता तान्प्रतिसेवतो वा नालमन्तरायाय। सो भिक्षू भिक्षू हि एवमस्य वचनीयो मा आयुष्मन्नेवम्वद मा भगवन्तम् आचक्ष। असता बुद्ध्याही तेन अन्तरायिका एवमायुष्म [29B] न्धर्माः समाना अन्तरायिका धर्मा उक्ता भगवता अलञ्च पुनस्तान् प्रतिसेवतो[2] अन्तरायाय। एवं च सो भिक्षु भिक्षुहि वुच्यमानो तं वस्तुं प्रतिनिस्सरेय इत्येतं कुशलान्नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेय। सो भिक्षु भिक्षुहि यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहितव्यो समनुभाषितव्यो तस्य वस्तुस्य प्रतिनिस्सगाय यावन्तृतीयकं समनु-ग्राहियमाणो वा समनुभाषियमाणो वा तं वस्तुं प्रतिनिस्सरेय इत्येतं

1—Ms. reads वसु. The Pāli text reads फासु होति.

2—Ms. reads प्रतिषेवतो.

कुशलं नो च प्रतिनिःसरेय सो भिक्षूः समग्रेण संघेन उक्षिपितव्यो इमं तस्य भिक्षुस्य उक्षेपण पाचत्तिकम् ॥

46. यो पुन भिक्षुर्जानन्भिक्षु तथा उक्षिप्तं समग्रेण संघेन धर्मेण विनयेन यथावादिं तथा कारितां पापिकां दृष्टिं अप्रतिनिस्सरणं तं अकृतानुधर्म्मं सम्भुंजेय वा संवसेय वा सहगारशय्यांम्वा कल्पेय पाचत्तिकम् ।

47. श्रमणुद्देशोपि चेदेवं वदेयं त [30A] थाहमायुष्मान्तो भगवता धर्मदेशितमाजानामि यथा ये इमे अन्तरायिका कामा उक्ता भगवता तान्प्रतिसेवतो नालमन्तरायाय सो श्रमणुद्देशो भिक्षूहि एवमस्य वचनीयो मा आयुष्मन् श्रमणुद्देश एवम्वद मा भगवन्तमस्याचक्ष असतादुद्गृहीतेन अन्तरायिका एवायुष्मन्श्रमणुद्देशकामाः । समाना अन्तरायिकाः कामा उक्ता भगवता अलं च पुनस्तान्प्रतिसेवतो अन्तरायाय । एवञ्च सो श्रमणुद्देशो भिक्षू हि वुच्यमानो तं वस्तु प्रतिनिःसरेय इत्येतं कुशलन्नो च प्रतिनिस्सरेयस्तो श्रमणुद्देशो भिक्षूहि यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहितव्यो समनुभाषितव्यो तस्य वस्तुस्य प्रतिनिःस्सगाय यावन्तृतीयकं समनुग्राहियमाणो वा समनुभाषियमाणो वा तं वस्तुं प्रतिनिःसरेय इत्येतं कुशलन्नो च प्रतिनिःसरेयः [30B] सो श्रमणुद्देशो भिक्षू हि नाशयितव्यो अद्यदग्रेण ते आयुष्मन् श्रमणुद्देश न चैव सो भगवानस्तथागतो(?)र्हन्सम्यक् संबुद्धे शास्ताव्यपदिशितव्यो यं पि च दानि लभसि भिक्षूहिं सार्धं द्विरात्रं वा त्रिरात्रम्वा सहगारशय्यां सायिते अद्यदग्रेण नास्ति गच्छनस्य चल प्रपलाहि । यो पुनभिक्षू जानन्तथार्मेशितं श्रमणुद्देशं यथावादीन्तथा कारितां[1] पापिकां दृष्टिमप्रतिनिःसरन्तं अकृतानुधर्म्मं उपस्थाये वा उपलायेय वा संभुंजेय वा संवसेय वा सहगारशय्यां वा कल्पेय पाचत्तिकम् ।

48. नवचीवरलाभिना भिक्षुणा त्रयाणाम्दुवर्णीकरणानामन्यतरान्यतरं दुर्व्वर्ण्णीकरणसादयितव्यं । नीलम्वा कर्दमम्वा कालश्यामन्वा ततो च भिक्षूरनादाय नवं चीवरपरिभुंजेय पाचत्तिकम् ।

1—Ms. reads कारीन्ता.

49. यो पुनर्भिक्षूरन्यत्र अध्यारामे वा अध्यावसथे वा। रतनम्वा [31A] रतनसंमतम्वा उद्गृह्णाय वा उद्गृह्णायेय वा पाचत्तिकम्। आकांक्षमाणेन भिक्षुणा रतनम्वा रतनसम्मतम्वा। अध्यारामे वा अध्यावसथे वा उद्गृह्णीतव्यं वा उद्गृह्णापयितव्यं वा यस्य भविष्यति सो हरिष्यतीति एतदेवप्रत्ययं कृत्वा अनन्यमियमत्रसामीची।

50. अन्वर्द्धमासं स्नानमुक्तं भगवता अन्यत्रसमये पाचत्तिकम्। तत्रायं समयो द्व्यर्द्धो मासो शेषे ग्रीष्माणाम्वर्षाणां च पुरिमो मासो इत्येते अर्धातीय मासः परिदाहकालसमयो अध्वानगमनकालसमयो[1] गिलानसमयो कर्मसमयो वातसमयो वृष्टिसमयो अयमत्रसमयोः।

उद्यानम्॥ [41] क्षोभिः [42] सहगार [43] च्छन्दम् [44] उद्योजना [45-46-47] अयोऽन्तरायिका [48] अकृतकल्पम् [49] रतनं [50] स्नानेन॥ पञ्चमो वग्गः॥

51. यो पुनभिक्षु जानिअ[2] प्राणकमुदकं परिभुंजेय पाचत्तिकम्।

52. यो पुनभिक्षू अवेलक [31B] स्य वा अवेलिकाय वा परिव्राजकस्य वा परिव्राजकाये वा स्वहस्तं खादनीयम्वा भोजनीयम्वा दद्यात्पाचत्तिकम्॥

53. यो पुनभिक्षू जानन्तं भोजनीये कुले अनुपखज्जासने[3] निषद्यां कल्पेय पाचत्तिकम्॥

54. यो पुनभिक्षु जनिअ भोजनीये कुले प्रतिच्छन्नासने निषद्यां कल्पेय पाचत्तिकम्॥

55. यो पुनभिक्षुरुद्यक्तां से[4] नाम्दर्शनाय गच्छेय पाचत्तिकम्।

1—Ms. adds a superfluous समयो.

2—Pāli text reads जानम्.

3—Sarvāstivādin text reads अनुप्रस्काद्यासने; the Pāli text reads अनुपखज्जासने.

4.—Ms. reads शे.

56. स्यात्तस्य भिक्षुस्य कचिदेव[1] प्रत्ययोसनायाङ्गमनाय द्वि-[रा] त्रम्वा त्रिरात्रम्वा तेन भिक्षुणासेनायां वसितव्यं तदुत्तरीं वसेय[2] पाचत्तिकम् ॥

57. तत्रापि च भिक्षु द्विरात्रम्वा त्रिरात्रम्वा सेनायां वसमानो आयूहिकम्वा नियूहिकंम्वा अनेक व्यूह[3]म्वा ध्वजाम्वा शीर्षम्वा दर्शनाय गच्छेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

58. [4]यो पुनर्भिक्षु भिक्षुं प्रहरेय पाचत्तिकम् ।

59. यो पुनर्भिक्षु भिक्षुस्य तलशक्तिकाभावर्जेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

60. यो पुनर्भिक्षु जानन् भिक्षूस्य दुस्थूलामापत्तिं कृ [32A] तमव्याचीएणां च्छादेय सो न परेषामारोचेय किन्ति सेमापरें जानन्तेति अवद्य प्रतिच्छादने पाचत्तिकम् ।

उद्यानं ॥ [51] समाराकम् [52] अवेलको [53] अनुपखज्जं । [54] प्रतिछन्नासनं [55-56-57] सेनायां [58] प्रहरति [59] तल-शक्तिका [60] प्रतिच्छादनेन ॥ षष्ठो वग्गः ॥

61.[5] यो पुनर्भिक्षु संचिन्त्य तिर्यग्योनिगतं प्राणिनं जीविताद्व्यपरोपेय पाचत्तिकम् ।

62. यो पुनर्भिक्षु भिक्षुस्य संचिन्त्य कौकृत्यमुपसंहरेय किन्तिस मुहूर्त्तम्पि अफासु भवेदिति पाचत्तिकम् ॥

1—Ms. reads कोचिदेव 2—Ms. reads वशेय 3—Pāli text reads—dvirattatirattam ce bhikhu senāya vasamāno nyyodhikaṃ va balaggam vā senābyūham vā anīkadassanaṃ vā gaccheyya, pācittiyan ti. The Sarvāstivādin text reads—dvirātra paramaṃ ced bhikṣuh senāyām vasaty udyuthikam senāṃ darçanāya mad dhavajāgram vā balāgram vā anika-darçanam vā pātyantikā. *Journal Asiatique* Nov.-Dec. 1913 p. 512.

4. No. 58 Chinese Msg. has "when he is angry and displeased."

5—No. 61 Chinese Msg. has no reference to तिर्यग्योनि.

63.[1] यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षूस्य वा भिक्षुणीये वा श्रामणेरस्ये वा श्रामणेरीये वा शिक्षमाणाये वा चीवरम्दत्वा अप्रत्युद्धरेय परिभुंजेय अप्रत्युद्धारपरिभोगे पाचत्तिकम् ॥

64. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षूस्यं पात्रिं वा चीवरं वा निषीदनं वा सूचीविग्रहम्वा अपनिहेयम्वा अपनिहायेय वा अन्तमसतो[2] हास्याभ्रापि पाचत्तिकम् ॥

65. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षूं भीषेय पाचत्तिकम्

66. उदके [32B] हस्तसम्मर्दनात् पाचत्तिकम् ॥

67. अङ्गलिप्रचोदनात् पाचत्तिकम् ॥

68. यो पुनर्भिक्षू मातृग्रामेण सार्द्धं संविधाय अध्वानमार्गं प्रतिपद्येत् अन्तमसतो ग्रामान्तरं पि पाचत्तिकम् ॥

69. यो पुनर्भिक्षू मातृग्रामेण सार्द्धं सहगारशय्यां कल्पेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

70. यो पुनर्भिक्षू मातृग्रामेण सार्द्धं एको एकायरहो निषद्यां कल्पेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

उद्यानम् । [61] संचिन्त्य [62] कौकृत्य 63] प्रप्रत्युद्धरित्य [64] कापनिहेय [65] भिषेय [66] उदके [67] अंगुली [68] संविधाय [69] सहगार [70] निषद्याय ॥ सप्तमो वग्गः ॥

71. यो पुनर्भिक्षू जानन्तं उनविंशतिवर्षं पुद्गलं भिक्षु उपसंपादेय सो च पुद्गलो अनुपसंपन्नो ते च भिक्षू गार्ह्या इमंस्तथा भिक्षुणागर्हणं पाचत्तिकम् ॥

72. यो पुनर्भिक्षू जानन्स्तैन्यसार्धेन सार्धं संविधाय अध्वानमार्गं प्रतिपद्येय अन्तमसतो ग्रामान्तरं पि पाचत्तिकम् ।

1—No. 63 Chinese Msg. does not mention the specific five types of disciples.

2.—Ms. reads अन्तमशतो.

73. यो पुनर्भिक्षू स्वहस्तपृथ्वीम् खनेय वा [33A] खनायेय वा अन्तमसतो इह खनेहीति एवं वदेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

74. चातुर्मासिकं भिक्षुणा प्रत्येक प्रवारणा सादयितव्या तदुत्तरिं सादियेय अन्यत्र पुनः प्रवारणाये अन्यत्र यावज्जीविकाये पाचत्तिकम् ॥

75. [1]यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षू हि एवं वुच्यमानो इमे हि ते आयुष्मन् पञ्च हि आपत्तिकाये अनध्यावाचाय शिक्षा करणीयेति । सो भिक्षू तां भिक्षुनेवं वदेय न यावदहमायुष्मन्तानां[2] वचनेन शिक्षिष्यं यावदहं न द्रक्ष्यामि स्थविरान्भिक्षून् सूत्रधरान् विनयधरान् मातृकाधरान् मध्यमान्भिक्षून् सूत्रधरान्विनयधरान् मातृकाधरान् नवकान्भिक्षू सूत्रधरान् विनयधरान् मातृकाधरान्नतांस्तावदहमुपसंक्रम्य परिपृष्ठिष्यं परिप्रश्नी करिष्यन्ति पाचत्तिकम् ॥ शिक्ष्यकामेन भिक्षुणा आज्ञातव्यमुपलक्षितव्यमुपधारयितव्यम् ॥

76. सुरामैरेय मद्यपानं पा [33B] पचत्तिकम् ।

77. भिक्षुनादर्ये पाचत्तिकम् ॥

78. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षू हि कलहजाते हि भन्डन जाते हि विग्रहविवादापन्ने हि विहरन्ते हि उपश्रोत्रस्थाने तिष्ठेय यं एते वदिष्यन्ति तं श्रुत्वा उपसंहरिष्यामीति । एतदेव प्रत्ययं कृत्वा अनन्यमिमन्तस्य भिक्षूस्य उपश्रोत्रस्थाने पाचत्तिकम् ॥

79. यो पुनभिक्षूः संघे विनिश्चयकथा हि वर्त्तमाना हि उत्थायासनात्प्रक्रमेय सन्तं भिक्षूमनामन्त्रयित्वा अन्यत्र तथारूपे अत्यायिके करणीये पाचत्तिकम् ॥

80. यो पुनभिक्षू आरण्यके शय्यासने विहरन्तो विकाले ग्रामं प्रविशेय सन्तं भिक्षूमनामन्त्रयित्वा अन्यत्र तथारूपे अत्यायिके करणीये पाचत्तिकम् ॥

1—There is no mention of मातृकाधरान् or विनयधरान् or सूत्रधरान् in the Chinese Msg. text.

2—Ms. reads जावदह...

उद्दानं ॥ [71] ऊनविंशति [72] स्तैन्यसार्ध [73] पृथिवी [74] प्रवारणा [75] न शिक्षिष्यं [76] मद्यपान [77] मनादर्यं [78] गुप्तश्रोत्र [79] विनिश्चय [80] आरण्यकेन ॥ अष्टमो वग्ग ः ॥

81. यो पुन भिक्षू सभक्तो समानो पूवे [34A] भक्तं पश्चाद्भक्तं वा कुलेषु चारित्रमापद्येय सन्तं भिक्षुमनामन्त्रयित्वा अन्यत्र समये पाचत्तिकम् ॥

तत्रायम् समयो चीवरदानकालसमयो अयमत्रसमयो ॥

82. [1]यो पुनभिक्षू राज्ञाः क्षत्रियस्य मूर्धा अभिषिक्तस्य जनपद-स्थामवीर्यप्राप्तस्य अन्तःपुरं प्रविशेयानिष्क्रान्ते राजाने अनिष्क्रान्ते अन्तःपुरे अनिग्गते हि रतने हि अन्तमसतो इन्द्रकीलम्पि अतिक्रमेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

83. [2]यो पुनभिक्षू दन्तमयम्वा अस्थिमयम्वा शृङ्गमयम्वा सुवण्णमयम्वा रूप्यमयम्वा रतनमयम्वा सूचीविग्रहं कारापेय भेदन पाचत्तिकम् ॥

84. मञ्चम्वा पीठम्वा भिक्षुणा कारापयमाणेन सुगताष्टाङ्गुल-प्रमाणाः पादकाः कारापयितव्याः । अन्यत्राट्टनीये तदुत्तारिं कारापेय च्छेदन पाचत्तिकम् ॥

85. यो पुनभिक्षू तूल संस्तृते मंचे वा पीठे वा अभिनिषीदेय वा अभिपद्येय वा उद्दाल [34B] न पाचत्तिकम् ॥

86. निषीदनं भिक्षुणा कारापयमाणेन प्रामाणिकं कारापयि-तव्यम् । तत्रेदं प्रमाणं दीर्घशो द्वे वितस्तीयो सुगतवितस्तिना तिर्यग्र्द्ध-मन्यत्र दशवितस्ति[3] कं तदुत्तरिं कारापेय च्छेदन पाचत्तिकम् ॥

87. कन्डुप्रतिच्छादनं भिक्षुणा कारापयमाणेन प्रामाणिकं

1—No. 82 No adjectives to the King in the Chinese Msg. text.

2.—No. 83 Gold, silver and jewel are not found mentioned in the Chinese Msg. text.

3—Ms. reads ष्ति

कारापयितव्यं । तत्रेदं प्रमाणं दीर्घशो चत्वारि वितस्तीयो सुगतवितस्तिना तिर्यग्द्वे तदुत्तरिं कारापेय च्छेदनपाचत्तिकम् ॥

88. वर्षाशाष्टिका भिक्षुणा कारापयमाणेन प्रामाणिका कारापयितव्या तत्रेदं प्रमाणं दीर्घशो षड्वितस्तीयो सुगतवितस्तिना तिर्यग्र्द्धतीयं । तदुत्तरिं कारापेय च्छेदन पाचत्तिकम् ॥

89. यो पुनर्भिक्षू सुगतचीवरप्रमाणं चीवरं कारापेय किञ्चितस्य भगवते तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक् संबुद्धस्य सुगतस्य सुगतचीवरप्रमाणं दीर्घशो नव वितस्तीयो सुगतवितस्तिना [35A] तिर्यक्क षड् इदन्तस्य भगवतो तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक् संबुद्धस्य सुगतस्य सुगतचीवरप्रमाणं ततो वा पुनरुत्तरिं कारापेय च्छेदन पाचत्तिकम् ॥

90. यो पुनर्भिक्षू भिक्षूस्य दुस्तो दोषान्कुपितो अनात्तनो अमुलकेन संघातिशेषेण धर्म्मेणानुध्वंसेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

91. यो पुनर्भिक्षू जानन् सांघिकं लाभं संघे परिणतं पुद्गलो पुद्गलस्य परिणामेय पाचत्तिकम् ॥

92. यो पुनर्भिक्षूरन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्दिश्यमाने एवं वदेय अद्य पुनरहं जानामि इदानीं पुनरहं जानामि अयम्पि धर्मो सूत्रागतो सूत्रपर्यापन्नो अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्देशमागच्छति यावदहन्नजानामि तावन्नास्तीत्थं मक्षमापत्तिर्जानेय्य च ते भिक्षू तं भिक्षूम् सकृद्द्वित्थिक्खुत्तो त्रिक्खुत्तो आगतपूर्व्वं पि सन्निधपूर्व्वं पि कः पुनर्व्वादो बहुशो नास्ति खो पुनस्तस्य भिक्षूस्य [35B] अज्ञानेन मुक्तिः । अथ इयांपि च सो भिक्षूरापत्तिमापन्नो तु क्षिप्रमेव यथाधर्म्मं यथाविनयं कारापयितव्यो उत्तरिं संमोहमापादयितव्यो तस्य ते आयुष्मन् लाभादुर्लब्धायस्त्वं अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रतिमोक्षे उद्दिश्यमानेनास्थीकृत्वा न मनसि कृत्वा न सर्व्वचेतसा समन्वाहृत्य अवहितश्रोतो सन्कृत्य धर्मम्शृणोषीति इमन्तस्य भिक्षूस्य सम्मोहनया पाचत्तिकम् ॥

उद्दानम् ॥ [81] सभक्तो [82] राज्ञो [83] सूचीगृहं [84] मञ्च [85] तूल [86] निषीदनं [87] कन्डु [88] वर्षाशाष्टिका [89] सुगत-

चीवर [90] मभ्याख्यानं [91] परिणामन [92] मज्ञानकेन ॥ नवमो वग्गः ॥

[1]वग्गाणामुद्दानं [1] मृषा [2] बीजं [3] असम्मतो [4] एकाह-परमो [5] क्षोभि [6] समाणकं [7] सञ्चिन्त्य [8] ऊनविंशति [9] सभक्तकेन ॥ नवमः उद्दिष्टाः[2] ॥

खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो द्वानवति शुद्धपाचत्तिका धर्म्मास्तत्रायुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धा द्वितीयम्पि आयुष्म [36A] न्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः । तृतीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः परिशुद्धा अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीं मेवमेतन्धारयामि ।

VI. THE FOUR PRĀTIDESANĪYA DHARMAS.

इमे खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो चत्वारः पातिदेशनिका धर्मा अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।

1. यो पुनर्भिक्षु आरण्यके शयनासने विहरन्तो पूर्व्वं अप्रतिसम्वेदितं बहिद्धा अप्रतिगृहीतमन्तेवास वस्तुस्मिन्नगिलानो स्वहस्तं खादनीयम्वा भोजनीयम्वा प्रतिगृह्णित्वा खादेय वा भुञ्जेय वा भुक्ताविना तेन भिक्षुणा प्रतिदेशयितव्यं । असंप्रेयम्मे आयुष्मन् गार्ह्यम्प्रातिदेशनिकं धर्म्ममापन्नो तं धर्मप्रतिदेशयामि अयं धर्म्मो प्रातिदेशनिको ॥

2. यो पुनर्भिक्षुरन्यातिकाये भिक्षुणीये अन्तरगृहं प्रविष्टाये अगिलानो स्वहस्तं खादनीयं वा भोजनीयम्वा प्रतिगृह्णित्वा खादे [36B] य वा भुञ्जेय वा भुक्ता विना तेन भिक्षुणा प्रतिदेशयितव्यं । असंप्रेयम्मे आयुष्मन् गार्ह्यम्प्रतिदेशनिकं धर्म्ममापन्नो तं धर्म्मं प्रति-देशयामि । अयं पि धर्म्मो प्रातिदेशनिको ।

3. भिक्षु खो पुनरन्तरगृहे निमन्त्रितकान्भुञ्जन्ति तत्र च भिक्षुणी विश्वासमानरूपास्थिता भवति सो एवमाह इह ओदनं देहि इह सूपं देहि इह व्यञ्जनं देहीति वदेय सर्वेहि ते भिक्षू हि सा भिक्षूणी एवमस्य वचनीया । आगमय तावत्त्वं भगिनि यावद्भिक्षू भुञ्जन्तीति एकभिक्षू

1—The resumé of all the 9 sections of the 92 pacattikas.
2—Ms. reads उद्दिष्ताः

पि च तां भिक्षुणीन्नेवं वदेय। आगमय तावत्त्वं भगिनि यावद्भिक्षू भुञ्जन्तीति भुक्त्वावीहि ते हि भिक्षु हि प्रतिदेशयितव्यं। असंप्रेयम्मे आयुष्मन् गार्ह्यम्प्रतिदेशनिकं धर्ममापन्नो तं धर्मं प्रतिदेशयामि। अयम्पि धर्म्मो प्रतिदेशनिको ॥

4. यानि खो पुनरिमानि शैक्षसम्मता [37A] नि कुलानि भवन्ति। तत्र च भिक्षूः पूर्व्वे अप्रवारितो उपसंक्रमित्वा स्वहस्तं खादनीयं वा भोजनीयं वा प्रतिगृह्णित्वा खादेय वा भुंजेय वा भुक्त्वाविना तेन भिक्षुणा प्रतिदेशयितव्यं। असंप्रेयम्मे आयुष्मन् गार्ह्यं प्रतिदेशनिकं धर्ममापन्नो तं धर्मं प्रतिदेशयामि। अयं पि धर्मो प्रतिदेशनिको ॥

उद्दानम् ॥ [1] आरण्यक [2] मन्तरगृहे [3] भिक्षू च निमन्त्रितकाः [4] शैक्षसम्मतेन चत्वारः उद्दिष्टाः ॥

खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो चत्वारः प्रातिदेशनिका धर्मास्तत्रायुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः। द्वितीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः तृतीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः परिशुद्धाः अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतं धारयामि।

VII. THE SIXTY-SEVEN ŚAIKṢA DHARMAS.

इमे खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो[1] सातिरेक पञ्चाषड् शिक्षाधर्म्मा अन्वर्द्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्देशमाग [37B] च्छन्ति।

1. परिमण्डलन्निवसनं निवासयिष्यामीति शिक्षा करणीया।
2. परिमण्डलं चीवरं प्रावरिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया।
3. स्वसंवृतो अन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया।
4. न उक्षिप्तचक्षूरन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया।
5. अल्पशब्दो अन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया।

1—The text actually has sixtyseven rules but here it mentions सातिरेक पञ्चाशत् (more than fifty dharmas).

6. [1]न उभ्भग्गीकाय अन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

7. न ओगुण्ठिकाय अन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

8. न उक्षिप्तिकाय अन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

9. [2]न उक्कुट्टिकाय अन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

10. न खम्भकृतो अन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

11. न कायप्रचालकमन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

12. न शीर्षप्रचालकमन्तरगृहमुपसं [38A] क्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

13. न बाहुविक्षेपकमन्तरगृहमुपसंक्रमिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

उद्दानम् [1] निवसनं [2] प्रावरणं [3] सुसंवृतो [4] चक्षूः [5] शब्द [6] नोभ्भग्गीका [7] न ओगुण्ठिका [8] नोक्षिप्तिका [9] न उक्कुट्टिका [10] न खम्भ [11] न काय [12] न शीर्ष [13] न बाहुकेन । प्रथमो वग्गः ।

14. सुसंवृतो अन्तरगृहे निषीदिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

15. न उक्षिप्तचक्षू अन्तरगृहे निषीदिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

16. अल्पशब्दो अन्तरगृहे निषीदिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

17. न उभ्भग्गीकाय अन्तरगृहे निषीदिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

18. न ओगुण्ठिकाय अन्तरगृहे निषीदिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

19. न उक्षिप्तिकाय अन्तरगृहे निषीदिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

20. [3]न ओसक्तिकाय अन्तरगृहे निषीदिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

21. न पल्लत्थिकाय अन्तरगृहे निषी [38B] दिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

22. न खम्भकृतो अन्तरगृहे निषीदिश्यामीति शि [क्षा] करणीया ।

1—The Pali text reads na ujjhaggikāya.

2—The Chinese Msg. has 'entering the house on toes.'

3—The Chinese Msg. reads 'to sit in the house without embracing the knees.'

23. न अन्तरगृहे[1] निषण्णो हस्तं कौकृत्यम्वा पादकौकृत्यम्वा करिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

उद्दानं ।। [14] सुसंवृतो [15] चक्षुः [16] शब्द [17] नोत्क्षिप्तिका [18] न ओगुण्ठिका [19] नोक्षिप्तिका [20] नोशक्तिका [21] न पल्लत्थिका [22] न खम्भ [23] न हस्तपादकौकृत्येन । द्वितीयो वग्गः ।।

24. सत्कृत्य पिण्डपात्रं प्रतिगृह्णिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

25. समसूपं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुञ्जिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

26. न स्तूपकारकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुञ्जिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

27. नावकीर्ण्णकारकं[2] पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

28. [3]नावगण्डकारकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

29. न जिह्वा निचारकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

30. नाति महन्ते हि कवडे हि पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया । [39A]

31. नानागतेकवडे मुखद्वारं विवरिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

32. न कवडोत्क्षेपकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

33. न कवडच्छेदकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

34. [4]न सकवडेन मुखेन वाच भाषिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

उद्दानं ।। [24] सत्कृत्य [25] समसूप [26] न स्तूप [27] नावकीण्ण [28] नावगन्ड [29] न जिह्वा [30] नातिमहान्त [31]

1—Ms. reads अनन्त......

2—Chinese Msg. has not got this rule. It is a new rule.

3—Uptill now the numbering of the Chinese Msg. and the present text was identical but henceforth it varies. Please refer to the concordance table in the introduction.

4—The Chinese Msg. reads 'not to clean the bowl with fingers.'

नानागतं [32] न कवडोत्क्षेपकं [33] न कवडच्छेदकं [34] न सकवडेन मुखेन वाचं ।। तृतीयो वग्गः ।।

35. न पात्रं निर्ल्लेहकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

36. न हस्तनिर्ल्लेहकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

37. नांगुलिल्लेहकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

38. न चुच्चूकारं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

39. न सुरुसुरुकारं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

40. न शुलुशुलुकारकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

41. न[1] हस्तनिर्द्धूनकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुञ्जिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

42. न[2] सित्थावकारकं पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

43. नातिवेलापरस्य पात्रन्निध्यायिष्यामि ओध्यायनकर्मतामुपादायेति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

44. पात्रसंज्ञीपिण्डपात्रं परिद्दश्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

45. न[3] अगिलानो ओदनम्वा सूपम्वा व्यञ्जनम्वा आत्मात्वाय कुले हि विज्ञापेत्वा वा विज्ञापायेत्वा वा पिण्डपात्रं परिभुंजिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

46. नदिन्नदिन्नानिष्ठं जनानि ओदनेन प्रच्छादयिष्यामि । भूयो आगमनकर्मतामुपादायेति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

47. न ससिथाम्यानोदकं पृथिव्यान्निषिञ्चिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

48. न सशित्थेन पाणिना पानीयस्थालकं प्रतिगृह्णिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

उद्दानम् ।।[35-36-37] त्रयो निर्ल्लेहाः । [38] चुचु [39] सुरुसुरु [40A] [40] न शुलुशुलु [41] न हस्त [42] न सित्थ [43] न ओध्यायन

1—Ms. reads हस्तनिद्धूतकं

2—Ms. reads सित्थापकारकं

3—The Chinese Msg. mentions only 'food' and not other things *viz.*, rice, soup and vegetables mentioned here.

[44] पात्रसंज्ञी [45] विज्ञप्ति [46] च्छादयति [47] पात्रोदक [48] ससित्थेन ॥ चतुर्थो वर्गः ॥

49. न थितो निषण्णस्य अगिलानस्य धर्म्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

50. न निषण्णो निपद्यस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

51. न नीचासने निषण्णो, उच्चासने निषण्णो अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

52. न उपानहारुढस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

53. न पादुकारुढस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

54. न ओगुण्ठिकाकृतस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

55. न संमुखावेष्ठितस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

56. न ओसक्तिकाय निषण्णस्यागिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

57. न पल्लत्थिकाय निषण्णस्य अगिलान [40B] स्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

उद्दानम् ॥ [49] न थितो [50] न निषण्णो [51] उच्चासन [52] उपानह [53] पादुका [54] ओगुण्ठिका [55] न सन्मुख [56] न ओसक्तिका [57] न पल्लत्थिकाय । पञ्चमो वर्गः ।

58. न शस्त्रपाणस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मदेशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

59. नायुधपाणिस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

60. न दण्डपाणिस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

61. न छत्रपाणिस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

62. न उत्पथेन गच्छन्तो पथेन गच्छन्तस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

63. न पृष्ठतो गच्छन्तो पुरतो गच्छन्तस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

64. न पादेन गच्छन्तो यानेन गच्छन्तस्य अगिलानस्य धर्मन्देशयिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

65. न हरिते तृणे उच्चारं वा प्रश्रावं वा खेड्डं वा [41A] सिंहाणं वा अगिलानो करिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

66. न उदके उच्चारं वा प्रश्रावं वा खेड्डं वा सिंहाणकं वा अगिलानो करिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

67. न स्थितो उच्चारम्वा प्रश्रावम्वा अगिलानो करिष्यामीति शिक्षाकरणीया ।

उद्दानम् ।। [58-59] न शस्त्रायुध [60] दण्ड [61] छत्र [62] उत्पथ [63] पृष्ठतो [64] यानं [65] हरितं [66] उदक [67] स्थितेन । षष्ठो वर्गः ।।

उद्दिष्टाः खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो सातिरेकपञ्चाशत शैक्षाधर्माः । तत्रायुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः । द्वितीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः । तृतीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धाः । परिशुद्धाः अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतन्धारयामि ।

VIII. THE SEVEN ADHIKARAṆA SAMATHA DHARMAS.

इमे खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो सप्त अधिकरणसमथाधर्मा अन्वर्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।

1. ये उत्पन्नोत्पन्नानामधिकरणानां शमथाय व्युपशमथाय सन्व-
[41B] कृते । संय्यथीदं संमुखविनयो शमथो ।

2. स्मृतिविनयो शमथो ।

3. अमूढविनयो शमथो ।

4. प्रतिज्ञाकारको शमथो ।

5. तस्य पापेयसिको शमथो ।

6. यो भूयसिको शमथो ।

7. तृणप्रस्तारको च शमथो । सप्तमो ।

उद्दिष्ता: खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो सप्त अधिकरणसमथाधर्मा सूत्रा[1] युष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धा: । द्वितीयं पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धा: । तृतीयं पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धा: । परिशुद्धा: अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतं धारयामि ।

इमे[2] खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो दुवे धर्मा: । धर्मो अनुधर्मेशु अन्वर्धमासं सूत्रे प्रातिमोक्षे उद्देशमागच्छन्ति ।

तत्र धर्मो नाम यमुभयतो विनयो ।

अनुधर्मो नाम या अत्र प्रतिपत्ति: ।।

उद्दिष्ता: खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो दुवे धर्मा: । धर्मो अनुधर्मेशु तेत्रा-युष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धा: । द्वितीयं पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि [42A] कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धा: तृतीयम्पि आयुष्मन्तो पृच्छामि कच्चित्थ परिशुद्धा: । परिशुद्धा: अत्रायुष्मन्तो यस्मात्तूष्णीमेवमेतं धारयामि ।

उद्दिष्टं । खो पुनरायुष्मन्तो प्रातिमोक्षस्य[3] वस्तु । उद्दिष्टं निदानं । उद्दिष्टाश्चत्वार: पाचत्तिका धर्मा: । उद्दिष्ता त्रयोदशसंघातिशेषा: धर्मा: ।

1—The use of the term 'सूत्र' does not follow the usual practice.

2—Cf. Introduction.

3—This summary makes no mention of the उपोद्घात given at the very beginning of the present text. That shows it might be a later addition.

उद्दिष्ताः दुवे अनियता धर्माः। उद्दिष्टा त्रिंशन्निसर्गिकपाचत्तिका धर्माः। उद्दिष्ता द्वानवति शुद्ध पाचत्तिका धर्माः। उद्दिष्ताः चत्वारः प्रातिदेशनिका धर्माः। उद्दिष्ताः सातिरेकपञ्चाषड् शैक्षा धर्माः। उद्दिष्तास्सप्तधिकरणशमथाधर्माः। उद्दिष्ता दुवे धर्माः। धर्मो अनुधर्मेशु। एतकोयं पुनस्तस्य भगवतो तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक् संबुद्धस्य धर्म-विनयो प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रागतो सूत्रपर्यापन्नो यो वा अन्योपि कश्चिद्धर्मस्य अनुधर्मो तत्र समग्रे हि सर्व्वे हि सहिते हि संमोदमाने हि [42B] अविवदमाने हि एकोद्देशे हि क्षीरोदकी कृतेहि शास्तुः शासनं दीपयमाने हि। सुखञ्च फासुञ्च विहरन्ते हि अनध्यावाचाय शिक्षाकरणीया।

1. [1]क्षान्तिः परमन्तपो तितिक्षा निर्व्वाणं परमं वदन्ति बुद्धाः।
नहि प्रव्रजितः परोपघाती श्रवणो भोति परान्विहेठयन्तः॥

इदम्तस्य भगवतो विपश्चितस्य तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक्संबुद्धस्य अचिराभिसंबुद्धस्य निरर्ब्बुदे भिक्षुसंघे संक्षिप्तेन प्रातिमोक्षं सुभाषितम्॥

2. [2]आरोपवादी अपरोपघाती प्रतिमोक्षे च सम्वरे मात्रज्ञता च।
भुक्तिस्मि प्रान्तश्च शयनासनं अधिचित्ते चायोगो एतं बुद्धानुशासनं॥

इदं तस्य भगवतो शैक्षिस्य तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक्संबुद्धस्य अचिराभिसंबुद्धस्य निरर्ब्बुदे भिक्षुसंघे संक्षिप्तेन प्रातिमोक्षं सुभाषितम्॥

1—This verse agrees with the Chinese Msg. verse no. 1, as regards authorship and contents.

This also agrees with verse no. 184 of the Dhammapada.

खन्ती परमं तपो तितिक्खा निब्बाणं परमं वदन्ति बुद्धा।
न हि पब्बजितो परूपघाती समणो होति परं विहेठयन्तो।

2--Verse no. 2, agrees with the Dhammapada 185.

अनुपवादो अनुपघातो पातिमोक्खे च संवरो
मतञ्ञुता च भत्तस्मिं पन्तञ्च सयनासनं
अधिचित्ते च आयोगो एतं बुद्धान सासनं॥

The content of this verse does not agree with the Chinese Msg. verse no. 2, however it agrees with Chinese verse no. 3, which is attributed to विश्वभु in the Chinese Msg.

3. [1]अधिचेतसि मा प्रमाद्यते मुनिनो मौनपदेषुशिक्षतः ।
शोका न भवन्ति [43A] तायिनो उपशान्तस्य सदास्मृतीमतः ॥
इदं तस्य भगवते विश्वभुवस्य तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक् संबुद्धस्य निरर्बुदे भिक्षुसंघे संक्षिप्तेन प्रतिमोक्षं सुभाषितं ॥
4. [2]सर्व्वं पापस्याकरणं कुशलस्योपसंपदा ।
सुचित्ते पर्योदमनं एतद् बुद्धानुशासनम् ॥
इदन्तस्य भगवतो क्रुकुच्छन्दस्य तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक् संबुद्धस्य अचिराभिसंबुद्धस्य निरर्बुदे भिक्षुसंघे संक्षिप्तेन प्रतिमोक्षं सुभाषितं ॥
5. [3]यथाहि भ्रमरो पुष्पम्वण्णगन्धगहेण्यं
परैति रसमादाय एवं ग्रामे मुनिश्चरेत् ।
6. न परेषां विलोमानि न परेषां कृताकृतम् ।
आत्मनस्तु समीक्षेत् कृतान्यकृतानि च ॥

1—The content of verse no. 3, does not agree with the Chinese Msg. verse no. 3, however, it agrees with the Chinese verse no. 6, which is attributed to कनकमुनि. The content of this verse agrees with Uddan varga. IV. Rockhill XXXI, 54.

अधिचेतसि मा प्रमाद्यतः
प्रततं मौनपदेषु शिक्षतः ।
शोका न भवन्ति तायिनो हि
अपशान्तस्य सदा स्मृतात्मनः ॥

2—The content of verse no. 4, does not agree with the Chinese Msg. verse no. 4, however, it agrees with the Chinese verse no. 7, which is attributed to Kāshyapa Buddha. The content of this verse agrees with Dhammapada no. 183.

सब्ब पापस्स अकरणं कुसलस्स उपसम्पदा
सचित्तपरियोदपनं एतं बुद्धान शासनम् ॥

3. The contents of verse nos. 5 and 6, does not agree with the Chinese Msg. verse nos. 5 and 6, however, they

इदन्तस्य भगवतो कोनाकमुनिस्य तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक्-संबुद्धस्य अचिराभिसंबुद्धस्य निरर्बुदे भिक्षुसंघे संक्षिप्तेन प्रतिमोक्षं सुभाषितम् ॥

7. [1]ना [43B] स्ति ध्यानमप्रज्ञस्य प्रज्ञानास्ति अध्यायतो ।

यस्य ध्यानञ्च प्रज्ञा च स वै निर्वाणस्य अन्तिके ॥

तत्रायमादि भवति । इह प्रज्ञस्य भिक्षुणो इन्द्रियैर्गुप्तिः संज्ञप्तिः प्रातिमोक्षे च संवरो ॥

8. [2]नित्यं भजेत् कल्याणं शुद्धाजीवमतन्द्रितं ।

प्रतिसंस्तरवत्ति च अचारकुशलोसि या ॥

ततः प्रामोद्य बहुलो भिक्षुर्निर्वाणस्येव अन्तिके ॥

इदं तस्य भगवतः काश्यपस्य तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक्संबुद्धस्य अचिराभिसंबुद्धस्य निरर्बुदे भिक्षुसंघे संक्षिप्तेन प्रातिमोक्षं सुभाषितम् ॥

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agree with the Chinese verse nos. 4 and 5 respectively, attributed to Krakuchhanda. The contents agree with Udānavarga XVIII, 7-8, Dhammapada 49, 50.

यथाहि भ्रमरः पुष्पाद् वर्णगन्धाव अहेठयन् ।
परैति रसं आदाय तथा ग्रामं मुनिश्चरेत् ॥
न परेषां विलोमानि न परेषां कृताकृतम् ।
आत्मनस्तु समीक्षेत् समानि विषमाणि च ॥

1—The content of this verse is not found in the Chinese Msg. However, it agrees with verse no. 372 of the Dhammapada.

नत्थि ध्यानं अपञ्ञस्य, पञ्ञा नत्थि अध्यायतो ।
यम्हि ध्यानञ्च पञ्ञा च स वे निब्बान सन्तिके ॥

2—The content of this verse is not found in the Chinese Msg.

9. [1]चक्षुषा संवरः साधुः साधुः श्रोत्रेण संवरः ।
घ्राणेन संवरः साधुः साधुजिह्वाय संवरः ।
कायेन संवरः साधु मनसा साधु संवरः ।
सर्वत्र संवृतो भिक्षुः सर्वदुःखात्मप्रमुच्यते ॥

इदन्तस्य भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शाक्याधिराजस्य तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यक् सम्बु [44A] द्धस्य अचिराभिसंबुद्धस्य निरर्बुदे भिक्षुसंघे संक्षिप्तेन प्रतिमोक्षं सुभाषितम् ।

एतानि प्रतिमोक्षाणि संबुद्धानां शिरीमतां । कीर्तिताः............

...................................मं...................................

[1] विपश्यी आनायवद्यश्च [2] शिखी प्रकाशयति अधिचित्तश्च [3] विश्वभुः । अकरणश्च पापानां [4] क्रुक्रुच्छन्दः । दुर्याश्च [5] कोनाकमुनिः । [6] ध्यानानि च काश्यपो प्रकाशयति [7] संवरं शाक्यमुनेः । एते सप्त-दशबला । महाप्रज्ञा अमितबुद्धी सप्तानां सम्यक् संबुद्धानां....ना....श्या....धिपतीनां धर्माख्यानानि उक्तानि । उद्दिस्तं प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रं । कृतं संघेन यो च ध....आर्याः....पालयन्तु । समाप्तं । प्रातिमोक्षसूत्रं आर्यमहा-सांघिकानां लोकोत्तरवादिनां माध्यादूदेशिकानां पाठि....। ये धर्महेतुप्रभवा [44B] तं पि तथागतो अवदत्तेषाञ्च योनिरोधं एवं वादी महाश्रवणः । ये धर्म्मो यं प्रवरमहायान पयिश्य शाक्यभिक्षुलोक....।

[2]शाक्यभिक्षु श्रीविजयभद्रलिखितमिदम् ॥

1—The contents of this verse roughly agree with the Chinese Msg. verses 7 and 8, which are attributed to Śākya-muni.

2—This line is definitely by another hand.

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